National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE IMPENDING CONFLICT.

THE TEMPER OF THE ADMINISTRATION PARTY.

THE steps already taken by the President toward a resumption of the suspended rebellion form their own commentary. They call for no words. But, since the age of Cæsarism is past, the study of an individual's doings affords no sufficient clue for calculating the probable course of events to come. That man, with all his bad, stubborn will, is but the representative figure-head of an evil movement. What faction demands, the demagogue attempts: that which the mob will support, the intriguant will propose. Where selfish prudence might restrain Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, partisan clamor will urge on Andrew Johnson, Joshua of the Confederacy.

Hence it behooves us to watch closely the temper of the rebel, pro-slavery element in the nation; for of it the seed of the Administration's action is conceived.

Always, of a large conspiracy, some undisciplined members will, in premature boast or threat, divulge the plot or a portion of it. Before New Orleans, a few such outbursts were heard from the Administration press. But since, so frequent and violent have these symptoms become, that they indicate either an unusual feeling of security on part of the schemers, or the near approach of their contemplated *coup*.

The following specimens give no uncertain sound:

Richmond Whig.

Should the radical policy of amending the Constitution by irregular and unauthorized methods of stripping the States of their just powers, and building up a great central legislative despotism prevail, some future Supreme Court, if one not political and not in the interests of radicalism can be constituted, will be called to pronounce upon the gravest and most momentous questions ever submitted to a judicial tribunal. It cannot be presumed by any reflecting mind that the makeshifts, devices and expedients resorted to by unscrupulous politicians who happen to have temporary supremacy, to build up and perpetuate their power at the expense of the rights of States and people, in defiance of the Constitution and in disregard of the powers that appertain to the Executive department of the government, will be forever acquiesced in. It may take ten, fifteen or twenty years to get a Supreme Court that will act upon and adjudicate such questions without being governed by partisan influences. But the time will come, and when it arrives, these questions will be brought before it in some form or other, if indeed they shall not be solved *by some other method* before that period.

On the 17th ult., commenting upon a rumor that a proclamation was about to be issued declaring "the relations of the State of Texas to the Union re-established," the same journal says:

A proclamation, such as we have spoken of, is necessary to disentangle him [the President] from the logical toils in which his antagonists seek to hold him. Let him issue such a proclamation, and he will plant himself on impregnable ground, while his enemies will stand before the world in the undisguised attitude of revolutionists. Such they are in spirit and in purpose, and such they would then be in palpable aspect and in fact. The logical sequence to such a proclamation would be another declaring that the constitutional relations of all the States being re-established, and the right of each to representation in Congress having accrued, he could *no longer*, under his oath to obey the Constitution, *acknowledge as a Congress*, a body which, by denying admission to the Representatives of certain States, failed to come up to the requirements of the law which gives existence to Congress. This is the issue to which affairs have seemed to us, from the first, to tend. We do not see that the President gains anything by postponing it.

Again:

We do not know a newspaper in the whole North (the *Tribune* editor is aware of it) that would sooner feel the vengeance of mob violence, if its party were to inaugurate civil war at the North, than the *Tribune*. Its safety and that of its whole editorial staff depends upon the preservation of the public peace. If the civil convulsion shall follow upon radical measures, farewell to the New York *Tribune* and the philosopher who conducts it.

Washington Republican.

This was written before the adjournment of Congress:

The present anxiety about the President of the Senate to succeed Mr. Foster, grows out of the plan to have a man in the Vice-President's chair in February, 1869, who will have courage enough to refuse to open the electoral returns from all the States then unrepresented in Congress. The letter-writers say that Senator Wade is the candidate who is thought to possess the most courage for such a performance. It is unimportant who the Senator that shall undertake that outrage may be, except so far as it may concern his own personal safety; for it is a plot that cannot be carried out with impunity. We do not believe it can be consummated without bloodshed. At all events, if the electoral votes on the States thus unlawfully excluded will elect a candidate for President who shall not be elected without them, the people will find a way to have them counted, by putting the proper President-elect into the Executive office and maintaining him there, by force if necessary.

Cincinnati Enquirer.

No rational man can watch the progress of things in this country without seeing that there is *a period of cancellation not very far in the future*, in which, either through rapid peaceful or equally *rapid forcible reactions*, a great mass of despotism, embalmed in laws, in constitutional clauses and in official precedents, will be swept away. If we are ever to return to constitutionality, it is to be to the Constitution as it was; and when the process of return begins, it will move with a speed fully equal to the most impatient desires.

N. Y. News.

That question [of secession] has been submitted to the arbitrament of arms; and, so far as the mere influences of physical force can determine it, it has, *for the time being*, been determined. The South accepts the result, in respect to its present practical application; but that acceptance does not imply any abandonment, in thought, of the principle upon which the secession movement was founded.

Aug. 11.—The next session of Congress will bring about the crisis. If it assembles, as in the last session, as a Radical Congress, as a revolutionary body armed with usurped powers, the impeachment of the President may be looked for as the sensation of the session. If that should come to pass, the whole fabric of our political system would be shaken to the centre, and again the terrible agencies of brute force would rule the destinies of the Republic. It would then be necessary to clear the Capitol of the incendiaries at the point of the bayonet, even as the Mechanics' Hall at New Orleans was cleared of the lawless Conventionists by the staves and revolvers of the police.

The *only way to insure peace* is to break up the Radical monopoly in Congress. We do not appeal to any personal apprehensions on the part of Mr. Johnson, but in behalf of the general interests and security, we call upon him to see that the Republic, and the whole Republic, be fairly and fully represented at the next Congressional session. And not alone for the safety and welfare of the country, but in mercy to the desperate men that are plotting to depose him, we would have their absolutism in Congress cancelled at the threshold of the next session, for assuredly their very lives will be endangered if they venture to usurp the Executive authority by impeachment, with the doors of the Capitol closed against the representatives of the Southern States and people. Let them get rid of their monopoly or it will crush them yet. They tried *an experiment at New Orleans*, whose result should teach them some discretion at Washington.

* * * * * *

Our disbanded armies furnish *an element of Conservative strength* that can be depended on if the appeal to them be made upon broad national grounds, in the true interests of national Union.

Aug. 18.—Let the President strike the opposition when and where he can. Let him take measures to protect the Southern members of Congress in their seats at the next session. He has declared that they have the right to be there, and he should protect them in that right. The emergency calls for prompt, vigorous and decisive action, and every blow dealt by the Executive hand will be an inspiration to the conservative cause.

Aug. 20.—Thus far, then, all promises well for the vindication of the principles of our form of government. President Johnson has spoken frankly, emphatically, and to the point. He has pledged himself to sustain the Constitution of the United States, and to protect the fundamentals of our political system from the revolutionary designs of the Radical disunionists. Nor has he hesitated to expose the nature of the conspiracy. He has said:

"We have seen a Congress gradually encroach step by step upon constitutional rights, and violate day after day and month after month the fundamental principles of the government. We have seen a Congress that seemed to forget that there was a limit to the sphere and scope of legislation. We have seen a Congress in a minority assume to exercise powers which, if allowed to be carried out, would result in despotism or monarchy itself."

If the Radical Congress have been guilty of all these crimes against the Republic, it is time that they be disarmed and rendered impotent in the future. If they have done what the President has said that they have done, they should not be permitted an opportunity to repeat their crime. At the next session they should be confronted by the Executive authority and compelled to relinquish their usurped powers. It is not enough for the Executive to declaim against their treasonable and incendiary action; he should interpose the power that he wields, including, if necessary, the military power, to reduce them to subjection to the laws and the Constitution of the Republic.

Aug. 21.—We appeal to the people whether a faction guilty of such official malfeasance should not be disarmed of its usurpations by legitimate exercise of the Executive authority.

N. Y. Herald.

Aug. 6.—Should the President be impeached by the present Congress, and removed from his office upon partisan grounds, to be succeeded by Charles Sumner or Ben Wade, as Vice-President *pro tem.*, until a popular election be held, the country will not quietly submit to such an outrage. It seems that there has not been enough blood-letting to satisfy our Radical Chandlers; but, if another intestine conflict shall come, the Radicals themselves—who escaped scot-free during the recent war, and made money out of the miseries they had caused—will certainly be the first victims.

Aug. 14.—*Recent events* point unmistakably to the fact that the Massachusetts Radicals of the North are preparing to plunge the country into another bloody revolution.

Aug. 10.—The war has commenced. The riots at Memphis and New Orleans are among the first serious consequences. *The flame is spreading everywhere.* In Texas people feel as if they were standing on a volcano. Our correspondence from Richmond and the news from other parts of Virginia show the same state of things there. In fact, all over the South, where great numbers of negroes are massed together, as in the cities named, and where, consequently, the Freedmen's Bureau has the most power, people are living all the time on the verge of anarchy and fearful scenes of blood. * * Our Radicals rode into power on a wave of blood which they had caused to flow; beginning with "bleeding Kansas," and going on till they brought about, in connection with the extreme men of the South, the late terrible rebellion. The often reiterated saying that history repeats itself is being verified in the bloody war which the Radicals have just inaugurated between the whites and the negroes of the South.

The question now is, are the enlightened people of this country going to permit a repetition of the horrors of San Domingo, or something worse, among us? Similar scenes will most *certainly be witnessed here* if the men who compose the present Congress should be re-elected to power!

N. Y. Express.

Aug. 4.—Many readers of the *Express* were very incredulous from 1840 to 1860, when so often the *Express* said that the Radicals and Revolutionists of Massachusetts would involve the country in civil war. The John Brown raid in 1860 set fire to the powder gathered by their allies, the Secessionists, at Fort Sumter. Incredulity only ceased to exist, when the war actually came.

The *Express* now sees and foresees another civil war coming,—not a war of sections, now, like that of 1860, but a war of races, between the Caucasian and the African, *in which white Radicals*, North and South, *will lead the negroes* generally. This war will not be sectional, but general,—a war of races. *The only way to avert it* is to keep the Radicals out of power, as they were from 1840 to 1860,—for the very moment they get into power the war will open.

Aug. 18.—Gov. Fletcher, it is understood, was informed by Gen. Sherman, the other day, that if the onslaught on peaceable citizens, in Missouri, by Radical ruffians, was not stopped, the General government would interfere to prevent it. The conduct of the Radicals in that State, for months past, has been a disgrace not only to the Governor who countenances it, but to civilization itself. It is high time a stop was put to it,—and if the hint volunteered by Gen. Sherman is not heeded, we trust there will be no hesitating about the *next step* which the emergency will demand.

[The "onslaught" referred to consist of arrests of Confederates and others for violations of law.]

N. Y. World.

July 25.—We warn the *Tribune* people that capital punishment cannot be abolished before the fruition of their infernal Radical schemes. If they or their desperate political associates raise the standard of rebellion, it will be at the imminent risk of their necks; and no amount of editorial whining in advance will do them any good. If the Radicals have their minds made up for treason, they must be prepared to meet all its consequences, hanging included.

July 26.—The Radical plot is laid against the lawful Executive of these United States, the lawful Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States; and while the spirit of our institutions bids us suffer the Stevenses and the Sumners in Congress, the *Tribune* and the Forneys in the press, to air undisturbed their disloyal insolence and their treasonable slang, it clothes the lawful government also with power to open the penitentiary and to erect the gibbet when disloyal insolence takes the field in arms, and treasonable slang lays hands of violence upon the ark of the Constitution.

Aug. 2.—Every man who has a life to be put in jeopardy, or a family to be imperilled, or a dollar to be risked, may now see for himself the *spectre of 1866 rising on the near horizon*, more clear and more terrible, too, than was its kindred ghost of the coming war in 1861. Toleration of those who have evoked it is henceforth complicity in their crime.

These utterances from journals of unbroken Pro-Slavery antecedents are not surprising; but that the N. Y. *Times*, which is especially charged with the mission of softly wooing Republicans into the Administration ranks, allows itself to make similar admissions, is deserving of note.

N. Y. Times.

Aug. 4.—The following lamentation appears in yesterday's *Tribune*:

"We publish mournful news from Arkansas; but nothing which might not have been confidently counted on after the leading example set in Washington. The State of whose good order and loyal promise, under Gov. Murphy's administration, Gen. Sherman and other officers of the army and the government formed so high an opinion, is about to be returned to rebel rule. The rebel element already floods the capital of the State, and threatens to swamp out the loyal elections and the work of loyalty already done."

And why should Arkansas *not* relapse? She has tried loyalty and found no merit in that line. She organized a loyal State government, sent loyal Senators to Washington, and elected loyal Representatives to the House of Representatives. That House refused Col. Johnson, who led his regiment against rebels, the privilege of pressing its carpets with his feet. And Congress has adjourned, leaving Arkansas and her Representatives, after waiting eight months in vain for admission, to go back informing their constituents that the doors of the Senate and House of Representatives are closed against them.

With this "example set in Washington," what are the electors of Arkansas to do? Congress rejects loyal Union Representatives. Have they any alternative but to "return to rebel rule?"

Relating the substance of an interview between the National Executive and a rebel delegation from Missouri, in which their spokesman complained of the action of Gov. Fletcher in enforcing the Registry and other, to them, obnoxious laws, whereupon he "asked the President if there might not be means through the military commander of the department, to restore peace and order to the distracted people," the *Times* says:

"If the intolerant and ferocious spirit of Radicalism nowrampant in Missouri be not curbed, and the riotous proceedings of faction be not decisively and quickly checked, it will be impossible to maintain the peace of the State, during the ten weeks that ensue before the November election."

REBEL CONFIDENCE IN GEN. GRANT.

As the "reliability" of Gen. Grant against any Presidential scheme of revolution has so largely and confidently been predicated, the following extracts, showing the extent of the rebel claim on him, are interesting:

N. Y. World.

Aug. 20.—At the interview which passed in the Executive Mansion on Saturday, between President Johnson and the Committee of the Philadelphia Convention, there was present one character not put down in any programme previously known to the public. But it is evident that Gen. Grant's appearance had been pre-arranged. The occasion was well known beforehand; the hour was known; its bearing on the politics of the country was well understood. That Gen. Grant consented to assist in so conspicuous a manner as to identify himself with the new movement, may be regarded as a bright addition to the accumulating proofs that the patriotism, fair-mindedness, and steady good sense of the country are rallying around the President.

N. Y. Herald.

Aug. 21.—The negro worshippers have now got another cause for alarm. Gen. Grant's presence and conspicuous position by the side of the President at the reception of the Committee from the Philadelphia Convention, has thrown them into a greater panic than anything that has yet happened. They are trying to show shat this was a mere accidental circumstance, when, in fact, the bearing of Grant and the whole thing looked as though it was pre-arranged. Gen. Grant is a shrewd man, and he has evidently discovered which way the wind is blowing, and has taken sides with the President and the people in this contest.

N. Y. News.

Aug. 20.—* * * It is a matter worthy of observation and an incident of peculiar significance that during this audience the soldier highest in command in the Federal army stood at the right hand of the President, in virtual attestation of his individual sympathy with the principles then asserted, and in pledge that the military power of the United States force upon the Radicals, with armedforce if necessary would be at the disposal of the Executive to ensary, obedience to the commands, within constitutional limits, of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic. The President, in referring to Gen. Grant, in the course of his address, seemed to invite public attention to the fact that his military lieutenant was to be depended on if the emergency should demand his services. In this implied co-operation of the Lieutenant-General with the Conservative movement, the country may find cause for congratulation, for it dispels at once every doubt that may have been suggested by the intrigues of the Radicals to secure Gen. Grant as one of their partisans and the tool of their faction.

It may be a subject of speculation whether the *News*, as above, uses the term "Lieutenant-General" inadvertantly, or whether it was designed thereby to emphasize his dependence from the President, as a mere "military lieutenant" of the same.

N. Y. Sunday Mercury.

July 29.—For instance, it is very possible the Fall election may so eventuate that there may be many Democratic or Conservative members of Congress elected in the Northern States as, combined with those returned from the South, would constitute a majority of the lower House. Some of the Senators, however, might refuse to act or attend the meetings. What remedy would such a stage of things require? The late performance in Tennessee furnishes the answer. An order might be served upon them from the President through the medium of a messenger in United States uniform, and who would afford an additional admonition to the absentees in the shape of a few inches of cold steel inserted in the seat of their pantaloons. They could not object to such a method of proceedings, as they have just ratified it in the case of Tennessee. In case such a state of affairs as that above hinted at should arise, the precedent now established will be extremely useful. If the President could have had any doubt in his mind as to how he should act if refractory disunionists decline to meet with the real legitimate representatives of the people, both from North and South, he can no longer hesitate to deal with them in a prompt and effective manner, by sending a sufficient number of troops to take them by the collar of the coat and the waistband of the breeches, and dump them into their seats, there to remain as long as their presence may be required.

The above is placed on record merely to show how early the Democratic mind at the North inclined to the resumption of violent measures. This, however, as above quoted, was yet conditioned on the election of a sufficient number of rebels and Copperheads to "constitute a majority of the lower House." Now, after New Orleans and Philadelphia, the programme is advanced a step, as our other extracts show, and we may expect the forcing of the rebel representation into Congress, be they and their friends many or few.

Mr. Cowan, editor of the (loyal) Warren (Pa.) *Mail*, writing to his paper from Washington, thus places Gov. Dennison's successor in the Post-Office on the same record with the Governor's predecessor:

"Bread-and-butter Randall, the fugleman for the Philadelphia fusion, has on more than one occasion said he expected there would be two bodies claiming to be the next Congress and two Presidents claiming the Presidential chair next time, and that the military would have to decide their claims."

Regarding the re-establishment of slavery, for which the Johnson Convention says the South has "no desire or purpose," the (loyal) West Branch (Pa.) *Bulletin* of the 28th ult. credits the following to the (rebel) N. Y. *Day Book*:

"No one can doubt that if the Southern people were left to themselves, and all restraint of the government was withdrawn, that they would send the negro Bureau flying out of the States, and place the negroes either in their old condition or in one somewhat similar thereto."

It being remembered that this was printed more than a month ago, and that, since then, "the restraint of the government" has received a new and emphatic twist at New Orleans, the result foreshadowed above can hardly appear doubtful.

A Southern planter thus writes to the Chicago *Tribune*:

"One thing is certain; there will be another rebellion; about how soon I don't know. We must be prepared next time better than this one. We understand now the fighting pluck of the Yankees. That was our error; we will not make that mistake next time. We must have the foreign alliance before we strike, and not a mere promise. We have learned a lesson now: *we can diplomatize to gain time*; but *let us get seats in Congress*; let us get the United States troops mustered out, and all will be well yet."

Especially noticeable are the clauses *italicised*. They are all the comment needed on the politics of the N. Y. *Evening Post*, which would *first* admit the South to representation, and *then* demand "equal rights;" or on the plan of Congress, which is, as yet, the only authorized "campaign issue" of the Republican party, and which is still practically upheld as such by all their leading journals—of making rebel representation conditional on the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment.

The Washington correspondent of the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* wrote, in July last:

"Yesterday I met a friend, who has spent twelve active months in Virginia and North Carolina. The result of his whole experience is an immovable conviction that the bulk of those he came in contact with desire nothing more than an opportunity of renewing the struggle for their independence. They consider themselves a separate people, have no lot or parcel with us, and will convince us of that fact at the first favorable opportunity. * * * * * * *

"I received a letter from a military officer who has recently travelled through West Tennessee and Northern Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. He uses this remarkable language: '*Whatever fighting is to be done for the Confederacy will be by the United States army.*'"

This prediction, by an officer of that army of which Andrew Johnson is Commander-in-Chief, made nearly two months ago, can be compared, in significant importance, only with the equally fatal and equally true assertion of Major Key after the battle of Antietam (for which he was cashiered by McClellan), that the beaten rebels were purposely not pursued and captured; that "that was not the game."

OUTLINE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PLOT.

A more connected, complete, and clear explanation of the central feature of the Presidential plot than either of the above is contained in the following article, from the N. Y. *News*, Aug. 21. It has all the authoritative directness of an official statement:

The President has well timed his proclamation declaratory of the restoration of the rights of self-government to all the States of the Union. It is a proper sequel to the action of the Conservative Convention. It is a seal upon the bond of alliance between the Conservative elements of the land. Coming so soon after the President's pledge to the Committee of the Convention to vindicate the principles of our political system, and to compel obedience to the laws and Constitution of the Republic, it will be accepted as a token that he will fulfil his promise. It is, let us hope, the first step in the inauguration of a more vigorous and decisive executive policy against the Radicals. It calls the multitude to witness that the gauntlet has been thrown in the face of faction, and that *the arm of a legitimate authority is nerved* to maintain the equality, the dignity and the independence of the thirty-six States of the Federal Union.

The President has taken pains in his proclamation to construct a complete chain of documentary evidence leading irresistibly to the conclusion that the States attached to the late Confederacy are all entitled to representation in the National Legislature. To this declaration is affixed the signature of the Chief Magistrate and the seal of the United States. It is a formal, positive and official attestation of the right of the Southern States and people to a share of the functions of central legislation. Supported by an authority of so much weight, an authority that, in fact, must be their only official guide, the Southern representatives will assemble at Washington at the opening of the next Congressional session prepared to assume the responsibilities and to discharge the duties of their office. If, in the face of the President's proclamation and in defiance of the will of the people expressed in National Convention, the Radical demagogues attempt to exclude them from their seats, they will do so *at their peril*. The Senate Chamber of the United States and its Hall of Representatives must not again be prostituted to the use of a revolutionary faction. The Capitol of the Republic must no longer be a den for conspirators to assemble in and plot disunion. If the Radical members do not choose to associate with the Southern representatives, let them resign, or go hold their Congress at Faneuil Hall. The Republic does not particularly require their services, but it does require a complete and Constitutional National Legislature; and, if we correctly understand the President's intention, *it will have it*. Mr. Johnson has too explicitly charged the Radical Congress with usurpation, lawlessness and conspiracy against the best interests of the country, to permit them, for another session, to retain a monopoly of central legislation. It is too much power for even good and wise men to wield. It is a legislative absolutism that would be dangerous in the hands of the purest patriots. Let it, then, be wrested at once from the fanatics and demagogues who have no better purpose than partisan supremacy.

APPREHENSIONS OF LOYALISTS.

Before us lie many clippings from the Republican press, showing that, especially since the Philadelphia Convention, they are gradually awaking to a sense of the situation. But we nowhere see that they propose to answer the threats of the Philadelphia address in the only correct language—that of unconditional adherence to negro suffrage and a new, thorough and immediate reconstruction on that basis, under Congressional regulation.

Of the extracts referred to, we give room to but one, that points out a mode in which the rebellion may be resumed, different from any above referred to. Speaking of the action of Gov. Swann, of Maryland, in illegally appointing disfranchised rebels as registers and judges of elections, so as to nullify the Registry law which excludes "Confederates" from the ballot-box, the Philadelphia *Press* says:

"If the Unionists of Maryland resist the attempt of the returned rebels to overawe and overwhelm them at the polls, then Andrew Johnson will be called upon to declare martial law—*to intercede by the army* to give the rights of suffrage to the enemies of the country, and to put down the brave spirits who saved Maryland from the fate of Virginia and South Carolina."

MAKING TREASON ODIOUS.—One of the things which made Mr. Johnson Vice-President, and by the death of Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States, was his celebrated saying, "Treason must be made odious, and traitors punished." The Union-loving people of this country saw safety in that speech. They felt—and feel—that if the leading traitors are brought to punishment for their monstrous crime, and if treason is made odious, the country is safe.

Somehow, traitors have not yet been punished. Many of the vilest and most pernicious have been pardoned; and the chief of all still lies in prison. Nevertheless, treason is daily becoming more odious; there is no doubt about it. It was more odious on the day after the Memphis riots than it was before; it was more odious when the colored Unionists of Georgia were driven away from the Union soldiers' graves they wished to decorate, than before. It became still more odious yesterday morning, as people read the account of the New Orleans riot; and the New York *Daily News*, the Richmond *Enquirer*, and half a dozen journals conducted in a similar spirit, make it more and more odious from day to day.

Not only is the spirit of treason becoming odious by the lawless and defiant course of the men who lately were engaged in an attempt to overthrow the government and Union, and who have been so freely forgiven for their crime; traitors as well as treason are becoming odious. The process by which this is brought about is not precisely that which was in people's minds when they applauded Mr. Johnson for his famous phrase. But it is just as effectual—it may turn out to be more so.—*Evening Post.*

WHAT IS A WHITE MAN?

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE Supreme Court of Michigan has worried itself very much of late in attempting to discover what is a white man? A simple mind, unaccustomed to subtle distinctions, would find no difficulty in deciding, but would at once assert that a white man is a man who is white. But such stupidity must arouse the disgust of every profound philosopher. It has been clearly established by the laws of every Southern State, and several Northern States, including Michigan, that a man may be a white man and at the same time a black man. Everything depends upon the cartilage of the nose. "A certain peculiarity of the cartilage of the nose," says the scientific testimony taken before the Circuit Court of Wayne county, "is an infallible indication of African blood." This is truly an appalling fact, and may lead to the amputation of a large number of noses—for if a man is only a nigger by reason of that organ, let him cut it off, and instantly he rises in the scale of races. With his nose, no matter how handsome it is, he is a born inferior, destined to follow his nose upon a downward career. Without his nose such a man may dine with the President. Let every man, then, look to his cartilage: for we greatly fear that black men with pretended white noses are common. The hair proves nothing—so the same scientific authority has established—for a black man may, even without a wig, have a white man's hair. Wool or hair, the mulatto may have either, but cannot have both. Besides, he may be bald, and then what becomes of the test? Under these circumstances, all persons with hooked proboscises may be expected of a sinister design to conceal their cartilage; but the candid snub-nose, which is always turned up for the inspection of the world, must at once remove suspicion. Whenever the reader has any doubt that an *apparently* white man may really be a negro in disguise, he has only to approach the person and, with a polite apology, examine with his fingers the cartilage of his nose. According to the appearance of the cartilage, he may then either bow, and say, "I am satisfied, my dear sir, you are not a negro;" or, "Leave me, vile impostor! with that cartilage do you dare to be white!"

Such an examination was actually made in Michigan before the Circuit Court referred to. An unfortunate man named Dean, being entirely ignorant that he was a negro, attempted to vote at a local election, and was arrested for violation of the laws. He brought numerous witnesses who testified that they had known him and his family for many years, and to the best of their knowledge, there was not a drop of negro blood in his body. But this availed him not. An uncertain Dr. Pitcher examined his nose before the Court, and from the conformation of his cartilage alone he was pronounced to be fifteen-sixteenths of a white man, the remaining sixteenth being pure African. The defendant appealed to the Supreme Court, and that intelligent body sustained the nose, and the man, we believe, was punished for voting contrary to law. Chief-Justice Martin, who dissented from this decision, has furnished an opinion which will shock the community. He contends that a preponderance of white blood constitutes the man white, and actually scorns the idea that by any authority of law, or principle of reason, one-sixteenth or one thirty-second of African blood can exclude a white man from citizenship.

This wild and frantic argument will only excite derision. It carefully ignores the existence of the nasal cartilage, though the Judge afterward admits everything, by his ironical suggestion that nose-pullers should be appointed by the government to attend the polls, and snub all noses which cannot prove a clean record. In the meanwhile, a general feeling of uneasiness must pervade the community. Those who have recklessly failed to get a certificate in favor of their cartilage may at any moment meet the fate of William Dean. The whitest of white men may be changed into a negro, metaphorically, in the twinkling of an eye, but, literally, in the pulling of a nose.

REBEL CHARITY.

From the Portland Press, July 20.

THE amiable mood of our Southern brethren has been pretty clearly indicated since the burning of Portland, by brief comments of the Southern press. The Richmond *Times*, for instance, after alluding to the burning of Columbia, Atlanta, Richmond, Rome, etc., kindly said: "As the principle of compensation extends even to conflagrations, we cannot hope our Northern 'brethren' will entirely escape these disasters from which we have suffered so severely." Two high-toned Southerners have felt moved, in like spirit, to set forth their views of God's ways with man, in anonymous letters addressed to gentlemen of this city. The first writes from Louisville, Kentucky, to "P. M., Portland, Me."

LOUISVILLE, Ky., July 8, 1866.

P. M. Portland Me.

Dear Sir

Gen. Sherman the Great Arson and Fire King is once more abroad with his incendiary torches—every day we hear of destructive fires in some locality at the North, as long as Sherman remained stationary at St. Louis and Chicago fires were principally confined to those places, now that this great desolator is on his march North, we hear daily of fires either in his front or rear, day before yesterday the town of Lawrenceburg, Ind. was consumed by fire yesterday we heard of your town suffering from the fires of heaven, and to-day another fire is reported in Pennsylvania—and I look for such reports daily until the vengeance of the Almighty, is appeased, by the destruction of seven-fold the amount inflicted by the desolating march through the South by the great Arson—fires in his front, fires in his rear, fires at his right and fires at his left hand, is destined to be your fate at the North. The total destruction of New York City and Boston by fire would not equal the 60 mile wide tramp of Sherman through Georgia. I just call your attention to this matter in order that your curiosity may lead you to observe &c.,

Yrs, JOHN SMITH.

Another writes "To the Chief of the Relief Committee, Portland, Maine," from Richmond, Va:

RICHMOND, July 9, 1866.

To the Chief of the Relief Committee, Portland Me.

SIR: Your city is quite destroyed by fire. Your people have my sympathy. I am a believer in Retributive Providence, and He distinctly states "Vengeance is mine." I am daily witnessing this expression being carried out with the different and various ways He has of applying it to the North practically and generally. You no doubt will say I am a fool and no prophet, nevertheless deny not this expression "Vengeance is mine sayeth the Lord." The North has overrun the South by numbers, destroyed her Freedom, robbed her of her Liberty and buried her best blood. Thousands upon thousands, white as well as black, are in a much worse condition than your unfortunate people, and still no help, no sympathy are extended to them. "Vengeance is mine sayeth the Lord." From what is written a heading for a history, of untold length, could be written. Justice in every line—Yes in every word "Vengeance is mine sayeth the Lord is my text—this embraces more or less the whole Book of Christ now add the violation of our Constitution and the subjugation of the South by superior forces arbitrary power being applied to a downtrodden race. Thus a proud and high-minded and Christian people still suffer by the hands of you and yours our Conquerors. Jeff Davis poor fellow included.

This Caution comes in a mysterious way nevertheless I believe your sufferings are heaped upon your heads by Providence as a retribution for your past actions and particularly your present unkind feelings towards your suffering countrymen.

Yours truly A REBEL UNTIL REPRESENTED.

P. S.

This is written upon the best of rebel note paper—the best that could be made during the war. Keep it as a memento of a ruined man as well as of a ruined country.

At the very time when the mails bring us these sweet words of condolence, every day's dispatches are telling of assistance extended to the suffering poor of the South by the hands of a victorious government, and a Radical Congress has just insisted upon maintaining for two years longer the vast relief establishment known as the Freedmen's Bureau. When Charleston, the cradle of the rebellion, suffered the fate she had invoked, New England charity, open-handed and warm-hearted, supplied her need. The desolation which the Southern States brought upon themselves has appealed to Northern sympathies, and never in vain. Through public and private channels a continuous tide of relief has flowed out to them and still flowing. They absorb whatever we give, and return thanks in this gracious fashion! How far is it, from the inditing of anonymous letters like these, to actual incendiarism? And what else could we expect from the barbarism which sought to spread pestilence in our cities and murdered our good President? Let us keep these savage hounds in leash a while longer, and not let them loose to fly at our own legs. Time will soften their anger and perhaps improve their manners.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE IN SPAIN.

From the New York Tribune.

THE July number of the *London Anti-Slavery Reporter* contains most cheering news about the progress of Abolitionism in Spain. The Spanish Anti-Slavery Society continues its labors with unremitting zeal and with remarkable success. Before the public organization of this Society, about two years ago, only one journal in all Spain had advocated in its columns the cause of emancipation. In November, 1865, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* published a list of thirty-two Spanish papers which declared the abolition of slavery desirable, though differing as to the mode of accomplishing it. Now the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* publishes a list of 77 papers, embracing the larger portion of the entire Spanish press, thus classified:

1. Radical Abolitionists (pledged to advocate thorough, complete and unconditional emancipation)	41
2. Favorable to Emancipation, though not committed to Radical Abolitionism	32
3. Pro-Slavery papers	4

In the City of Madrid the strength of the parties in the press is as follows:

1. Radical Abolitionists	14
2. Favorable to Emancipation	16
3. Pro-Slavery	2

The *Tribune* continues: "The friends of Freedom everywhere will hail this state of periodical literature in Spain as an indication of much greater progress than Spain had generally been credited with. In the Spanish Anti-Slavery Society all political societies are represented, but the Progressive party distinguishes itself by its entire unanimity on this question. Should the Radical party of Spain ever arrive at power, slavery in the Spanish dominions would be abolished on the spot—one reason more why the Progressive party in the United States should warmly sympathize with the Party of Progress in Spain."

THE PRESS ON THE JOHNSON CONVENTION.

LOYAL VIEWS.

ONE year ago, when "my policy" was as active as now in crushing out Unionism at the *South* and restoring that section to rebel rule, the Republican press refused to believe in the "apostacy of the President." Negroes might be immolated and traitors pardoned, by the score or hundred, each day—but, "the President is all-right," Mr. Greeley assured us.

Now, that the reconstructed rebellion threatens to overrun the *North*, that Republican postmasters are losing their heads by letter, and Republican Congressmen are in danger of losing theirs by the ballot—*now* the scales suddenly fall from the eyes of those blind guides!—Too late!

N. Y. Tribune.

Aug. 17.—The ex-rebels in the Convention assented to many most distasteful propositions in order to procure a concession of the main question—that of their assumed right to do as they shall see fit within their respective States. * *

In plainer terms, the Johnson Convention affirms that the whites of the South who fought for years to destroy the Union have to-day all the rights therein that they ever had; while the loyal blacks of those States have no rights whatever but such as the late rebels choose to concede to them.

On the side of the rebels, all is matter of right; on the side of the Unionists, there is but grace and favor, and precious little of these. If to-morrow the "restored" rebels of Mississippi and Louisiana should see fit to arrest, try, convict and hang as traitors every black who served in the Union armies, they have a perfect right to do so under the Cowan platform, and there is no power in the Union to prevent or resist them in so doing.

The Cowan platform asserts that there is no *desire* nor *purpose* in the South to re-establish slavery. That is false; but suppose it were true, what of it? Is there any right to establish it? Men's desires and purposes change from day to day; it is the *right* of the Southern whites to enslave the blacks that we wish precluded. If their desire and purpose are to control, we shall have slavery re-established in fact within the next ten years.

Aug. 21.—How much has the Philadelphia Convention, with all the "brains" which its President declared it to possess, done to make treason odious? By the law of the land it is a felonious crime—Doolittle and his following have worked their best to reduce it to a misdemeanor, and Mr. Raymond elaborately treats it as a peccadillo. We ask every man of candor to read all the proceedings of the Convention, and then honestly to determine whether it was not chiefly assembled for the comfort and consolation of the Confederate mourners. There seemed to be but one idea prevalent upon the seats and the platform, and in the atmosphere of the wigwam—the idea of bringing the loyal States, by wheedling, and persuasion, and bullying, to the discharge of what Mr. Webster used to call their "disagreeable duties."

* * We are to forget the tremendous events of yesterday, the slaughter, the waste and the panic of the war, and only to remember that the assassins of the Republic lamentably failed in their murderous purposes, and are very much to be commiserated for their disappointment. * * We do not like to speak intemperately, but it really seems to us that the whole tendency of this Convention was to INCITE ANOTHER REBELLION.

* * * * * * *

The rebels have had a fine dance, and Mr. Raymond thinks it hard to oblige them to pay the piper. He may be assured that, if they can dance for nothing, they will be at it again before he is much wiser, or even much older. Indeed, we do not see why they should not pluck up courage and try once more, when the Philadelphia Convention, scowling at the North and threatening the loyal population, tells the discouraged Confederacy under what circumstances it may again properly resort to criminal violence. Mr. Raymond declares that "the Americans who live in the South" would be "unworthy citizens of a free country, degenerate sons of a heroic ancestry," should they "accept" those laws which Congress has seen fit, in the exercise of its constitutional prerogative, to enact. When the passage containing this opinion was read, great and emphatic was the cheering and the approbation. The honorable and distinguished member for Maryland cried "Read that again!" and all the little squad of delegates from unreconstructed or half-reconstructed States felt in their fiery souls that the rod which they were accustomed to wave *in terrorem* over Union-shriekers and Union-savers was not yet broken, and did not lose all its magical properties when Gen. Lee surrendered and Mr. Davis retired to Fortress Monroe. We congratulate them upon the discovery. All is not lost! There may yet be another and a more fortunate rebellion. Why not? Doesn't Mr. Raymond tell them so? Does not the Philadelphia Convention tell them so? Is it not put upon record that their continued loyalty, such as it is, very properly depends upon the contingency of legislation which shall be quite agreeable to their sensitive natures? Thus, we are no sooner well out of the war than political speculators at the North are inviting the uneasy and the desperate to renew it,

The *Tribune* must have quite recently discovered that of which it assures Mr. Raymond; for, during a year past, it consented to letting the rebels have "their dance for nothing."

And how stand we now? The issue of the Fall campaign is this: the Democrats (as represented

in the Philadelphia Convention) want the South compensated for the rebellion by increased representation, under the "three-fifths clause;" the Republicans (as represented in Congress) want the payment of this reward estopped by their Constitutional Amendment, but, nothing more. And the *Tribune*—however loudly shrieking for Impartial-Suffrage-or-No-Representation NOW, AFTER the adjournment of Congress—nevertheless supports the renomination of those same Republican Congressmen who bartered their brothers' birthright for a mess of pottage.

The Anti-Slavery party is, as yet, the only party which insists—as it always has insisted—that the "dancers" of the rebellion should "pay the piper," in simple justice to the blacks and themselves.

Another Republican journal expects "a new civil war," and "peonage" instead of slavery.

The Nation (N. Y.)

Aug. 23.—The great object of the mass of those present was to clothe the rebels with power, to put loyal men under their feet, and to release the white people of the South from all checks and restraints upon their will. Doubtless they purpose to do this within the Union, and we believe that most of them have no ulterior designs against the maintenance of the Union, if it can be preserved upon their terms. But their policy is inconsistent with the very idea of free government, and inevitably hostile in its tendency to the continuance of the Union. We gather from the address that ten States are, in the opinion of the Convention, unconstitutionally excluded from Congress, that if they are not promptly admitted a new civil war may be expected, and that, by this exclusion, the validity of the government itself is brought in question. * * No matter what professions the managers of the new party may make, its tendencies are inevitably to sustain oppression, and to substitute peonage for slavery.

N. Y. Evening Post.

* * * * * But it [the Convention] may be of not the slightest use to the Democratic party. That party, if it wishes to rule the country, must not depend upon Philadelphia Conventions; it must depend upon the enunciation and defence of sound and liberal principles. If it permits a handful of old fogies to commit it against universal liberty and equal rights, and in favor of proscription, and of privilege to the few and exclusion of the many, it will surely be defeated; but if it plants itself upon the good old Democratic ground of equal rights to all within the Union and Constitution,* * it will compel victory—because it will deserve it.

The *Post* here recognizes the concrete principle which is to shape our history for the next three or the next thirty years—the same which the *Independent* enunciates when it says that henceforth no one may become President "who does not ask permission of the negro." But while the last-named journal proposes correct means to the above end, the sentiment of the *Post* is worthless in practice; for, as quoted under "Rebel Views," it proposes means tending to exactly the opposite result.

One alone, of the entire "loyal" host, takes the *right stand:*

The (N. Y.) Independent.

Aug. 23.—The antidote to the Philadelphia movement is, to salt the Republican party with the strong savor of Impartial Justice. The first battle will be in the coming elections to Congress. Let no Republican be nominated who is opposed to Equal Rights. NAY, LET NO REPUBLICAN BE NOMINATED WHO IS NOT PLEDGED BEFOREHAND TO STAND OR FALL BY EQUAL RIGHTS. We had cowards enough in the last Congress. God give us one Winter of brave men! No man shall be the next President of the United States who does not ask permission of the negro.

REBEL VIEWS.

The missionary organ of the junior rebellion admits three points: 1. The forces of the Administration have been "consolidated." 2. The rebels of 1861 have had their way in the Convention. 3. The Northern sympathizers of the old rebellion are satisfied with the new movement:

N. Y. Times.

Aug. 18.—The great difficulty in the way of consolidating the Conservative forces has been overcome, and an organized National Union movement now aims at meeting the urgent demand of the country.

Aug. 16.— * * * * * The Southern delegates are in no degree compromised, for they sit in the Convention as equals in authority and right, subjected to no capricious test, subscribing to no partisan formula, and yielding nothing of the dignity belonging to them as exponents of a people upon whom the policy of Congress presses with inexcusable harshness. The Southern delegates, we are persuaded, will return satisfied with the reception accorded to them, and with a well-grounded conviction that the constitutional Unionists of the North cherish no resentment, no sympathy with conspirators, and are prepared to battle steadfastly for the rights withheld by Congress.

Aug. 22.—The tone of the Northern Democratic press is, with scarcely an exception, all that the friends of the movement could desire. There is little or no fault-finding, and absolutely no opposition either to the action of the Convention or the policy it indicates for the Fall elections.

The harlekin organ confesses the identity of the Johnson party with the party that made the previous rebellion:

N. Y. Herald.

Aug. 21.—The late Democratic party was merged in the great Johnson-Union movement of the Philadelphia Convention.

Evidence of the preparation of the conspiracy in secret conclave comes from another Administration source:

N. Y. Express.

Aug. 20.—Men seemed to come together in that Convention, with a consciousness that there were no new subjects to be discussed, nothing to be considered, that could have any fresh light shed upon it by prosaic dissertation, or debate—and hence, whenever a symptom of loquacity was manifested, on the part of some irrepressible delegate, it was courteously, but summarily, snuffed out.

"Mr. Davis" his official paper thus compliments Mr. Johnson's recruiting agent:

N. Y. News.

Aug. 18.—The address of the Philadelphia Convention to the People of the United States is certainly an able and well written exposition of the questions at issue before the country. We had not believed that Mr. Raymond *could* write so unsectional and consistent a paper, one so full of impartially stated truths, and of such sound argument upon them. The Conservatives of the country, both North and South, will no doubt be willing to accept it and the accompanying Declaration of Principles as their Platform for the pending elections, and for *that* purpose it is good enough.

It declares that the South has been soothed:

These resolutions were evidently conceived in a spirit of enlarged patriotism, and of great kindliness toward the South, and are so expressed as to give no cause of offence to the people of that section.

—But that she stoops too low "to conquer":

We will confess that to us the impression was painfully conveyed that the South, if fairly represented at the Convention, is bending too low in its eagerness to conciliate the North. It is not necessary to be the abject slaves of expediency. It may be necessary to stoop to conquer—and we admit that many precious Southern rights have to be regained by conquest in political warfare—but not to stoop so low; not to *crawl* to conquer. * * There need be no humiliation in defeat where all has been done that courage and devotion could accomplish; but there is humiliation in fawning upon conquerors like hounds that lick the hands that have scourged them to the kennel. The South has claimed that the best blood of the Republic flowed in the veins of Southern men; but if they now consent to be the parasites of power, we shall begin to believe that the blood they were so proud of has all been spilled upon their battle-fields.

N. Y. Evening Post.

Aug. 7.—Aside from the open and square recantation of old political errors by the Southern and Northern secessionists and pro-slavery men, but one object is contemplated in the address and resolutions: to procure the election to the next Congress of a majority of members, no matter of what party, favorable to the immediate admission of loyal representatives.

The *Evening Post* has so steadfastly and so long urged upon the present Congress the justice and policy of this action, that it is hardly necessary to say it has now our heartiest consent.

It forms a melancholy sight—a journal with the anti-slavery antecedents of the *Post*, in such company! But, in justice, we cannot put its utterance, above quoted, elsewhere; for the "immediate admission of loyal [?] representatives," which has its "heartiest consent," is to be *unconditional*. This is exactly what the rebels, with Andrew Johnson foremost, wish, and—as their presses show—*all* they wish. For, from this, "all blessings flow" which they may desire. In view of this practical surrender of the *Post* to the enemy, its expression (quoted under "Loyal Views") in favor of "equal rights to all," is of very little value.

Still, while erring so grievously, it has the candor to make the following admission concerning the crimes of the President:

The address [of the Convention] considered as a plea or argument in favor of this policy of admitting all the States immediately to representation, and thus bringing us back to the regular and orderly working of our system of government, would have been far stronger and more convincing had it taken broader ground. It condemns as unconstitutional the action of Congress; but it has not a word to say of equally unconstitutional action by the President. It talks of the usurpation of powers by Congress, but omits all mention of Presidential usurpation of power. By these omissions the address takes the character of a partisan paper, and parts with much of its force.

The consequences of a success of the movement are well portrayed by a Southern partisan of the Administration:

Richmond Times.

The President has formally adopted the new party as the Administration party, and has placed himself at its head, with the assurance of all the aid and support which his great office commands. This party is now fighting a great battle, and if it triumphs, *the best fruit of its victories will be ours.* If, in the Fall elections, they crush and annihilate the revolutionists [Radicals], the honor and political rights of the South will be forever secure, and we shall once more become the peers and equals of the triumphant section in every department of the government.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1866.

PRESENT TENDENCIES.

It may well be with deep anxiety that thoughtful patriots ask, to-day, the question, "Which way is the nation drifting?" Is the tendency toward such a settlement of matters in dispute as will show a thorough understanding of the meaning of the war in which rebellious slavery involved the country, and an intelligent determination not only to avert a like calamity in the future, but to extract from the bitter past the utmost of compensative sweet which it can be made to yield? Or is it such as will only make the nation's future history an illustrative record of the proverbial effects of braying a fool with a pestle in a mortar?

Judging from the action of men in high places, rulers and legislators and party leaders, the current sets, apparently, *not* in the former course, at least. For the war was, manifestly, at once a natural consequence, and thus a God-sent punishment, of long-continued outrage on the common rights of human nature as embodied in dark-hued humanity; and an opportunity, as grand as it was costly, for repenting of that sin and utterly forsaking it. Hence, then, no policy can be right or safe or wise, which fails to use the opportunity effectually, even to the impartial recognition and complete protection of those sacred rights, in whomsoever embodied, throughout all the land. Failing of this, the nation fails to realize to its own benefit the merciful intent and uses of the chastisement which it has received.

But what sufficient token are our rulers giving, that they perceive this obvious truth, or that they mean to follow its guidance? We need not stop to say at large how widely the President is deviating from it; indeed, how utterly unconscious of it his whole boasted "policy" reveals him. He, it is seen and felt on all hands, is irretrievably committed against the side of equal rights; and now consorts with those immaculate and ardent Unionists whose loyalty, born in "the last ditch of the rebellion," waits only till admitted to the halls of Congress, to show itself the transmigrated soul of Treason, changed in nothing but its form and name.

What sort of progress *he* has made, depends on where he stood at first, and how sincere or otherwise he was when he declared that treason is a crime and must be made odious; that leading traitors must be punished and deprived of their social power and prestige and misused wealth; and that loyal men alone henceforth must rule. That he was then insincere we do not say. The opposite we think more probable. But this the country knows; that he has done as yet no public act to render treason odious, unless we may account as such his friendly intercourse with many of its notorious authors and abettors; that he has punished leading traitors with no severer penalty that special pardons, when a general amnesty did not include them; deprived them of social power and prestige, only by restoring to them, as far as he could do it, the rights of citizenship which their crime had vilely cast away, and by treating them as if guilty of trivial faults at most; stripped them of their ill-used wealth by opposing every measure for the confiscation of estates forfeited to the nation's penal justice, and even giving back to the former rebel owners such property as had been righteously and wisely appropriated to the use of loyal freedmen; and provided for the rule of loyal men, by employing his personal and official influence to help unrepentant rebels into office, and to keep beneath their feet those who were true to the nation in the time of trial, and who, to save its life, put their own in peril. The country has seen him in promise the black man's Moses, in performance his Pharaoh; in words the champion of "constitutional rights" for those who contemptuously rejected all rights under the Constitution, in act, when his purpose required it, assuming powers which, according to his own theory, are utterly illegal and despotic; professedly laboring to reconstruct the Union, practically, as some one has pithily and truly said, "reconstructing the rebellion." So far then as his action goes, the tendency is plain enough to national injustice, folly and ingratitude, and consequently to national disgrace and ruin.

But some, of hopeful heart, would have us believe that Congress and the Republican party will save us from this fate, by effectually counterworking the President's perversity. What ground have we for such belief? Congress has passed certain bills over the Presidential veto, for the protection of the freedmen. True—bills which as *parts of* a system of thorough measures might be of value; but as *substitutes for* such measures are but a delusion. What good can they do the freedmen, with all political power at the South in the hands of the freedmen's oppressors? Congress has proposed an Amendment to the Constitution which compels the late rebellious States to either give the black man his political rights, or lose, themselves, a measure of political power in national affairs equal to the black man's just proportion. Granted. The South is told, you shall not use the black man's weight *against* us, while you refuse us a chance to use it on our side. Good for *our* rights, perhaps, but how for his? A protection to Northern white men against Southern white men; but neither protection nor justice to the black man.

Besides, as lame a substitute as it is for the right measure, even that Amendment is not sure to be adopted; nor is it certain that its adoption will be insisted on as a pre-requisite to the admission of the seceded States. Already we perceive signs of giving way upon this point. We see it approved in Republican journals, that neither Congress nor the party has ever taken ground distinctly in favor of such a condition precedent to the admission of those States. Already we are told by Republican presses, that in the West the conventions of the party "are nominating candidates for Congress who favor the immediate admission of members from all the States," without such condition; and this is pronounced "both right in itself, and sound policy."

Even if the Amendment should nevertheless be insisted on and so be adopted, it is by no means certain that the President and his party will regard it as valid. The President hails the recent action of the Philadelphia Convention as having given to the country "a policy and principles" which henceforth all recipients of government patronage must adopt and support; and in the address of that Convention is a plain enough hint that no amendment of the Constitution is to be held as law, unless concurred by three-fourths of all the States, unconstrained by any requirement of such concurrence as a condition of Congressional representation or the like. We have then no security in the proposed Amendment—even if the late rebels would not, under it, prefer to keep to themselves the whole of a smaller portion of political power, rather than share a larger portion with the loyal blacks—that the loyal blacks will get their rights.

The truth is, we see too many tokens of a disposition to end the present controversy by one of those iniquitous "compromises" which have disfigured so many pages of our past history. This being so, the duty of Abolitionists, of "Radicals," of all true friends of freedom, is manifest. It is to hold on in our old work, condemn, denounce, repudiate *all* compromises which admit an element of injustice to any, even the weakest, and to go to the people with an appeal against Congresses, Presidents, Conventions, political leaders, or whatsoever else that fails to come up to the demands of right, and by earnest agitation endeavor to obtain an emphatic popular reversal of any but a just decision; a popular rejection of any final settlement but that which guarantees the rights of *all*.

THE SOUTHERN LOYALISTS.

Southern loyalists, with large delegations from the Northern States, will assemble in Philadelphia on Monday next. It will be an important gathering. Many of the delegates who have been appointed from the South, have not unlikely been appointed to martyrdom or exile. It is fast becoming apparent, as we have often affirmed, that there can be no white loyalists at the South without an alliance with the blacks. That alliance will need to be recognized and strengthened by the loyal masses of the North. We do not see how men who are in the position occupied by Gen. Hamilton and others who will be the influential men in the Convention from the South, can do other than accept and advocate unqualifiedly the issue of impartial suffrage.

A letter from Hon. Gerrit Smith, in another column, contains some excellent remarks on this point.

In our Summary will be found the most important portions of the official correspondence on the New Orleans horrors, recently published.

The evidence afforded by that mass of documents agrees with the statements heretofore made in the loyal press, while it refutes those of the rebels. Its general drift is such as to confirm these views: 1. The so-called "riot" was the fruit of a long and carefully matured rebel conspiracy, having for its aim the suppression of the Union element in Louisiana. 2. The military authorities were not in sympathy with the conspirators; but their action was delayed by false representations made to them by the latter. 3. Everything that President Johnson did in the matter was calculated to aid the murderers. 4. What he did, he did with a full understanding of the nature of the case. 5. The spirit that prompted these atrocities is as rampant to-day as it was on the 30th of July, 1866. 6. Nothing but an overwhelming demonstration of public opinion at the North in favor of Radical measures can restrain that spirit, supported as it is by the Executive; and nothing but a speedy, radical reconstruction, from the foundation of government, by Congress, can permanently break it.

FREEDMEN IN WASHINGTON.

Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing is engaged at Washington, in connection with the Freedmen's Relief Association of the District, in providing homes and employment—mostly in the North—for the many destitute freed people, men, women and children, who have collected in and around Washington during the past three years, making a large surplus of population and consequent destitution and suffering. Homes have been found for about twelve hundred of these people during the past Summer. The claims of the Association are stated in the following circular:

Washington, August 6, 1866.

The National Freedmen's Relief Association for the District of Columbia has of late devoted its energies and its Treasury to assist dependent freed people from this District to other sections of the country—mostly in the North—where good homes and remunerative employment have been secured for them.

During the past Summer about twelve hundred destitute freed people, including men, women and children, have received government transportation, and under the auspices of the Freedmen's Relief Association have exchanged a life of poverty and degradation, for good homes and the highest incentive to self-support and elevation.

We believe this measure one of incalculable benefit to the freed people, and to the whole country, and desire to extend it in co-operation with the Bureau, wherever the demand for relief can be completely and satisfactorily given in this way.

But even this relief, more economical than any other, requires money to defray expenses.

In our vigorous prosecution of this work, the usual current expenses of the Society have been necessarily neglected, and in furnishing the most limited supply of clothing to the destitute who were going North, all our second-hand and new garments have been given out, and we are now without resources of money or clothing, to complete this work before the Winter.

Will not the loyal people sustain this practical measure, and co-operate with the Bureau by furnishing means for incidental expenses, in finding homes and transferring thereto such destitute freedmen and refugees as the Bureau, upon our application, will supply with transportation?

We most earnestly appeal to the friends of the freedmen, and to the associations organized for their relief, to send us contributions of money, cloth and clothing to enable these suffering people to help themselves, and at the same time, develop the industry and resources of the country. Without this assistance, a great opportunity for mutual good is lost.

We hope for an immediate response to this call. Contributions in money may be sent to Geo. E. Baker, Treasurer N. F. R. A., State Department, and other supplies to J. S. Griffing, 391 North Capitol street, Washington, D. C.

We find in the Washington *Chronicle* a letter from Mrs. Frances D. Gage, giving some account of the labors of Mrs. Griffing and the Washington Association, from which we make the following extract:

"The Washington Association, since May last, has sent out into Northern homes eight hundred, and would have found places for twice that number if funds had been placed in their hands with which to pay incidental expenses.

One of the hot days just gone by, the writer of this article met at the terminus of the rail in New York Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, who has been the active agent of the D. C. Association at Washington for the last three years. She stood upon the platform, at the foot of Courtland street, surrounded by sixty of the colored people, with whom she was journeying on to Providence, Rhode Island.

This accidental meeting impelled the writing of this article.

"Government gives mere transportation," said this noble woman, "but it pays no incidental expenses;" and with a pale, weary face, and eyes worn and dim, yet looking unutterable thanks, she laid her hands on my shoulder and sent her benediction to the friends in this vicinity for the contributions in behalf of her work.

"It came just when most needed," she said; "the good Father must have inspired you. It was indeed a God-send. To-day I have had to pay draymen to take their little boxes and traps across the city. We have been detained here now on this bridge four hours, waiting to see the president of the railroad, and they had to have bread, and bread costs money. But they have been fed. Tell your ladies to persevere. Every dollar they spend in providing homes for these people, where they can labor independently, thus being useful to themselves and employers, is worth ten dealt to them as paupers."

If I do not give the words of this noble, untiring friend of humanity, I give the substance, and trust that the incident related may come to the hearts of those who gave and labored, as an encouragement for the future and a reward of the past.

To help sixty human beings out of want and suffering and pauperism, into healthy, comfortable homes, where earnest, honest industry will relieve all want, and where schools and religious instruction will be meted out to them, without money and without price, is surely a great result. Let us try, again trusting our labors may again be "a God-send" to the humblest poor.

F. D. Gage.

THE CONSTITUTION—THE COUNTRY.

BY GERRIT SMITH.

The fathers gave us a good Constitution. I am aware how generally it is held that its framers aimed to have it pro-slavery. But the Constitution is what the people, who adopted it, intended it to be: and from its letter must this intention be gathered. In its letter, however, slavery nowhere appears; and it was not possible to smuggle it in—to get it in without its appearing to be in. The doctrine of the Supreme Court of the United States is that an injustice, which violates rights and fundamental principles and the general system of the laws, cannot, unless expressed with "irresistible clearness," be embodied in a law. A doctrine far higher and more emphatically true is, that slavery, which (every right-minded parent of an enslaved child being judge) is worse than murder, can, no more than murder, be made law by any, however explicit, form of words.

I always and deeply regretted that the Abolitionists of the Garrison and Phillips school did not, instead of deferring to alleged evil intentions on the part of the framers of the Constitution and to the alleged endeavors to smuggle slavery into it, take their stand on the Anti-Slavery letter of the Constitution, and insist, with all their great intellectual and moral power, that the whole American people do likewise. Demand for the right, instead of concession to the wrong, was the duty at that point.

Believing, as I did, that the letter of the Constitution was clearly and strongly against slavery, I, of course, regretted the terms of its Anti-Slavery Amendment. These terms imply that the Constitution was pro-slavery. Far better had they been such, as to imply that it was Anti-Slavery; and this they would have done, had they simply forbidden that the Constitution be so interpreted as to legalize or permit the legalization of slavery. Another objection to the Amendment is, that, as generally read, it allows the enslaving of a convicted criminal. But no crime, however heinous, of which man can be guilty, justifies the chattelizing of him—the classing of him with brutes and things. Still another objection to the Amendment is that war is not the time for amending the Constitution. If only for this reason, it is to be regretted that another Amendment is now in process of adoption. The war is not ended. For, although a large class of politicians are instructed to say it is, they, nevertheless, have not the least right to say so. The inappropriate time for making it is not, however, the chief reason for regretting the pending Amendment. If adopted, it will be an outrageous and infamous violation of democracy and human rights, and a blot upon the Constitution, which time cannot wash out. For, if adopted, the implied Constitutional power to deny suffrage to any, however innocent, race, and be it African, German, Irish or other, cannot again be questioned. And, if adopted, the disfranchised race will, no more than so many mules, be included in "the basis of representation"—and this, too, whilst the Amendment expressly provides that criminals shall be included in it!

The excuse for what we have recently done, and for what we are now doing, to the Constitution, is that we are thereby improving it. But are we improving it by this unseasonable, rash, unwise and entirely needless tinkering of it? Our posterity, who would neither have seen nor suspected slavery to be in it, will be informed to their and our and the fathers' shame, that slavery was in it; and, moreover, that a Constitutional door is opened for reproducing it in certain cases, which, by the way, might become numberless. Again, the Constitution, as generally read, provides that every free person, the untaxed Indian alone excepted, shall be counted and honored as a unit in "the basis of representation." But, if the pending Amendment be adopted, some five millions of innocent, native-born citizens will be made of no political account; and, instead of there remaining a constitutional obstacle in the way of reducing other millions to this political non-entity, there will be an implied liberty in the Constitution to visit this degradation upon them also. And then, too, how unlike to what it now is at the point of suffrage, will be the Constitution, when it shall tolerate the disfranchisement of whole races—ay, and even the reduction of our Republic to an oligarchy! The Constitution, as adopted, calls [Art. 1, sec. 2] for a broadly democratic choice of the members of the House of Representatives. Moreover, the histories of the politics of our country eighty or ninety years ago, including especially the proceedings of the Congress of the Confederation and of the Convention which framed the Constitution, show that the efforts of South Carolina to restrict political rights to the whites met with no favor. Indeed, she was the only State, when the Constitution was adopted, that denied suffrage on account of color.

To suppose that the Constitution contemplated the possibility of the disfranchisement and non-representation of races and of unlimited millions, is to suppose that it contemplated the possibility of its own virtual destruction, of a failure of the government through lack of a sufficient constituency, and, indeed, that it contemplated the possibility of the annihilation of the nation.

Heaven save us from this way, which the Republican party has, of improving the Constitution! Far rather would I say with the Democratic party: "No change of the Constitution!"

That the penalty of having her blacks unrepresented in the government in the event of her denying suffrage to them, will, in the least, influence the South to grant it, is not to be believed. All she cares for is to keep her blacks in subjection; and this she will endeavor to do at whatever cost.

How much better had it been to ordain peace and its adequate securities under the unlimited and unquestionable law of war than to seek to do this through the limited and questionable law of the Constitution, or through changes to be made in it! How much better to do so now! In other words, how much better to make and fortify peace now, through the absolute power of the conqueror! But it is assumed that peace is already reached. The arguments of the National Convention, held a few days ago in Philadelphia, proceed on this assumption. But by whom have the terms of peace been ordained? By the President. We deny his right to ordain them. We admit his right to prescribe terms to those who are vanquished in a local insurrection—in some outbreak that can be quieted under the forms of the Constitution. But where the case is one in which those involved in the insurrection constitute a great part of the nation, and become a nation *de facto*, and lift up their struggle into the dimensions and dignity of a civil war, the President cannot take upon himself the deciding of the terms of peace without being guilty of a usurpation so flagrant and so fearful as to justify his immediate impeachment. Had it not been for the sudden collapse of the Confederacy, there would doubtless have been a treaty of peace between its government and ours as between the governments of any two nations, at the termination of their conflict with each other. That sudden collapse, leaving us no party to treat with, remitted the case to our law-making power:—and those politicians, both in and out of Congress, who have encouraged the President to take it exclusively into his own hands, are, beyond all reasonable doubt, making sorrow for him, for themselves and for their country. The President's plain and indispensable duty, on receiving the reins of government, was, to assemble Congress, and to establish, by legislation, the terms of peace. Those terms would have been favorable, far beyond the gloomy expectations of the South. Of course, she now exacts terms infinitely more favorable than those, which would then have awakened surprise, delight and gratitude in her guilty bosom. For, now, through the boldness of the President and the cowardice of Congress, she has risen up out of the humility of the vanquished into the haughtiness of the victor. The question is no longer—what the North will concede to the South, but how little of the fruits of the great victory will the South allow the North to retain. In the legislation to which I have just referred, the President would have had as large a part as he has in simply constitutional legislation. The legislation in question would not have been trammeled and bounded by the Constitution. It would have been authorized by the paramount law of war. It would, in a word, have been, as, in all reason, it should have been, the dictation of the conqueror to the conquered.

I have referred to one of the falsehoods in the proceedings of the late Philadelphia Convention. Those proceedings, by the way, are made up of nothing but falsehoods.

Another of them is, that the war has not enlarged the powers of the Federal government over the rebel States. How nonsensical as well as how false! How inconsistent, moreover, are the President's disciples, at this point, with himself! For if their teachings are right, then what a tyrant was he in setting up governments over those States; in requiring them to change even their organic laws, and to do many other things, which he required them to do! The simple and rational truth, opposed to this false and foolish position, is, that the Federal government, which, before the war, was the agent of the rebel States, became, after it, their master. Conquest means nothing, if it does not mean as much as this. These disciples of the President hold that the Northern and the Southern States are to-day, and have been throughout the war, the same equal partners under the Constitution, which they were before the war. One of two mercantile or manufacturing partners tries to murder the other; but in the sequel finds himself under the feet of that other. Will his plea to be let up, and to be reinstated in the partnership because they were once equal in it, be listened to? Certainly not. With his own hands he flung away the articles of partnership to substitute murder for them. The question now is—not whether the murderous partner may still assert his right to continue in the partnership—for he has sunk that right in his crime. The sole remaining question is—what shall be his punishment, or the provision for his safe-keeping. The rebel States with their own hands flung away the Constitution under which they were equal partners with the Northern States, and sought the life of the nation. Therefore the sole question now is, not what are their constitutional rights—for their own hands have flung them all away—but, what shall the conqueror, in the fulness and absoluteness of his power, do with the conquered.

Another of the falsehoods of this Convention is, that the present Congress, in requiring securities for peace, is inconsistent with the course pursued by President Lincoln and the Congresses of his Administration. It is true that, in the earlier stages of the war, they believed that the simple submission of the rebel States would suffice to make it safe to reinstate them unconditionally in their former relations to the loyal States. But never, after the war became a life and death struggle on the part of the nation, and hundreds of thousands had perished in it, and our colored brethren had so generously and bravely given thousands to fight and die for our cause, had there been a thought in any loyal quarter, of our accepting such simple submission in full satisfaction of our claims for the past, and as adequate security against the future invasion of our rights. See, for instance, how the demands of President Lincoln grew as it became necessary for them to grow. In his letter to Gov. Hahn, of Louisiana, dated March 13, 1864, he suggests that the very intelligent of the colored people, and also those who had fought gallantly in our ranks, shall have the elective franchise; and, a month later, in a letter to Gen. Wadsworth, of glorious and precious memory, he says that universal suffrage must accompany universal amnesty, and that "the colored race have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot."

Alas, how disingenuous and deceptive were the men of this Philadelphia Convention!

Another of its falsehoods, is its declaration: "We do not hesitate to affirm that there is no section of the country where the Constitution and the laws of the United States find more prompt and entire obedience than in those States and among those people who were lately in arms against them, or where there is less purpose or danger of any future attempt to overthrow their authority." And this is said of that half of our country in every part of which it is unsafe to be a black man or the friend of a black man, and in every part of which crime goes unpunished and murder is pastime! Can the people respect the men who so trifle with truth?

Of the many more falsehoods of this Convention, I will mention but one more. It is the pretence that South Carolina and Massachusetts have become friends. It is true that the bad elements in both these States were represented in this Convention. It is true that men of South Carolina walked into it, arm in arm, with men of Massachusetts: but they were not friends. These men are no more capable of friendship for each other than are any other conspirators against the just. They can walk together; for when they do, their every step is upon the bleeding hearts and prostrate rights of the millions, black and white, of loyal Southerners. Pilate and Herod were not friends. They were united; but it was only in enmity to Christ. "The King and Haman sat down to drink; but the city Shushan was perplexed." It was not friendship, but community in crime, that brought them together. This bobnobbing brought sorrow to Shushan. This union for evil, of Massachusetts and South Carolina, will bring sorrow to the South. President Johnson shed tears of joy over it. The innocent millions of the South will also shed tears over it, but they will be tears of bitterest woe.

Our nation needs peace; but neither the President's plan nor that of Congress can bring peace; for justice is in neither of them, and, therefore, both must fail. The President is a usurper, and Congress is a coward; and thus, between the two, the nation is like to perish. Congress denounces the injustice of the President's plan; but is not brave enough to confront it with justice. The President believes in unrighteousness, and Congress lacks faith in righteousness—and when has not positive wickedness proved an overmatch for negative goodness? The President's policy is to put under the feet of the guilty men who tried to destroy the nation, the innocent race that came forth so magnanimously, as well as bravely, to save it. Congress blusters against this policy, and then adopts an essentially similar one. Had this Congress obeyed God, and, from first to last, gone unfalteringly for impartial justice to all races and all men, it would therein have been the mighty educator, and, from that, the mighty saviour of both the North and the South. The North, no less than the South, needs to be educated in righteousness: and so far from cherishing resentment, should propose no terms of peace that are not dictated by love for the South. Her strongest motive in insisting on impartial suffrage should be, to save the South from tears and blood.

The Democratic party has not the heart to inscribe "Impartial Suffrage" on its banners at the coming election, for it is the enemy of impartial justice. Will the Republican party have the courage to make that its motto? I suppose not. It is too far embarrassed and demoralized by the Congressional "plan of reconstruction," to aspire to anything higher than that plan. I look with some hope to the Southern Unionists who, a few days hence, are to meet in Philadelphia. But will even *they* dare to express their deep conviction, that impartial suffrage can alone save them and save the South? Far better will it be that they had not assembled, than that they assembled and yet failed to say this only thing which they needed to say. Far better for them not to have assembled, than to have assembled and bestowed praise upon Congress. Those measures of Congress which are its substitute for the great justice due from its hands, are, for that very reason, and however great their intrinsic merits, the most pernicious of all their measures. But for those compromising measures, the members of the Republican party would still have stood up for that great justice. Alas, they will now accept the worthless substitute, and so fall in with the guilty, corrupting, ruinous compromise, and prepare the way for that harvest of horrors whose first-fruits have been seen in Memphis and New Orleans.

Peterboro, August 23, 1866.

PERSONAL.

Theodore Tilton denies the report that he is a candidate for Congress.

Prof. Angell has been elected President of the University of Vermont.

Thomas J. Durant, of New Orleans (says the *Tribune*), will take up his residence in Washington, deeming his city unfit for an abode of loyal men.

The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent states that Secretary Stanton will not resign until he has given to Congress, at its next session, his report of the operations of his department during the recent rebellion.

Several Washington correspondents agree in representing Gen. Grant as having recently expressed a determination not to be a candidate for the Presidency in 1868.

"Mr. Phillips," says the Boston *Commonwealth*, "assures us that he cannot consent, under any circumstances, to be a candidate for Congress, even to gratify his warm friends, the workingmen."

A Salem paper intimates that the rumor that George Peabody will give one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to three Massachusetts colleges, and one million to the poor of Boston, was nothing better than a hint to that gentlman that such modest gifts would be acceptable.

Mrs. Harriet Martineau is in a declining state of health. She has given up writing, save a letter now and then to a friend. She withdrew from her literary undertakings with reluctance, leaving the London Daily *News* last of all. Such time as her health allows for more than reading, is devoted to needle-work, in which she performs, it is said, marvels.

Carl Schurz, in the Detroit *Post*, denies indignantly a rumor, started by the New York *Herald*, that he obtained the editorship of the *Post* by intriguing against Judge Edmonds, for whom the *Herald* said it had been destined. Mr. Schurz says he had not the remotest knowledge of the existence of such a thing as the "Detroit *Post* Company," when the editorship of the *Post*, much to his surprise, was offered to him by a member of the Board of Directors sent to Washington especially for that purpose.

Dean Richmond died at New York on the 27th ult., aged 62. He was the ablest leader of the Democratic party of the Empire State, and, as such, sometimes threw his weight into the progressive scale, when dissensions in the party called for his arbitration. Still, the success and unity of the party was, with him, ever superior to any political principle. He was, since 1850, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee. The *Tribune* says, in this connection:

"The *Post* intimates that the Democratic platform and ticket of 1865 were adopted after assurances given him during an interview with the President. This fact, we may note in passing, is important as showing how early Mr. Johnson's secret negotiations with the Democrats began."

Our friend, Mary Grew, in a private letter, dated Brattleboro, Vt., Aug. 26, says:

"The signs of the times are dark enough; Beecher is right in saying that Congress has "flattened out." But I cannot, will not, yet believe that the nation is given over to destruction. At any rate, we will make a hard fight to save it. The demon of compromise has so *possessed* almost every party, even the Radical Republicans, as they are called, that there really seems to be none left to advocate *absolute* justice towards the black race, but the old-fashioned Abolitionists. Every day I am more convinced that the world can't spare us yet; much as it might like to be rid of such disturbers of its false peace. Just now, indeed, there is little peace of any kind—false or true; but how soon may there not be the former, born of some political chicanery? It will be short-lived, of course; but how poisonous to the nation's life-blood, while it endures!"

M. Deponai, Esq., of Ellenville, N. Y., in sending a remittance for The Standard, writes:

"There was a time when I, with many others, thought that the Anti-Slavery conflict was ended successfully in the United States, but I was mistaken and am thankful that others were not so short-sighted. 'Moses' is leading us further into Egypt than out of it! What a pity he outlived his career as Military Governor of Tennessee: he would have died a saint then, while now he will go down to perdition loaded with the curses of all whose prayers are worth having. I know you are opposed to capital punishment, as I have been heretofore; but my sentiments in this respect are undergoing a radical change when I think, for instance, what a blessing it would have been for the negro, for the nation, for mankind, and especially for Andrew Johnson, if the Constution of the United States provided that the Vice-President should be hung as soon as the President dies!

"Here, as everywhere, Copperheads are in ecstasy. Of Johnson Republicans, I have heard, but they are not known in this region."

LETTER FROM FLORIDA.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Hot! hot! hot! writes your Boston correspondent. Let me suggest to him to come a thousand miles South to find a cool place! In this island city the weather has been delightfully cool and pleasant during the Summer thus far. Instead of the Mercury being from 99 to 109, as in Boston, it has been above 90 but two days here this Summer. Usually it has been between 82 and 86, with a pleasant breeze from the ocean nearly every day. I think it will be news to most people in the North, but I learn that the Summers are usually cooler in Florida than in New York or New England. I came here last November with my family, to avoid the severe New England Winter and find this a very healthy and charming climate to reside in all the year round.

The lives and property of Northern settlers have been supposed to be pretty safe on this Island. The loyal element being so strong, it was believed, if anywhere in the South, our rights would be respected here. But of late, the rebels, emboldened by the attitude of President Johnson, are making violent attacks on both the persons and property of Northern settlers. Even now, while I am writing, a so-called sheriff comes in, threatening, by authority of an old order of a rebel court, to dispossess the owner of property purchased of the U. S. government and to put the tenants into the street. It is believed the mission of the copperhead Private Secretary of the President here a few weeks since was to devise some pretext for superseding the law of Congress under provision of which the property was sold. The rebel claimants appear to have some secret assurance that the action of the courts of Florida will be sustained by the President—a law of Congress and a special order of Gen. Grant to the contrary notwithstanding. Gen. Foster, Military Commander of the department of Florida, hesitates between the conflicting orders of his superiors, and it is believed he is to be removed because of a disposition he is said to have made in favor of law and justice. A company of soldiers are to be stationed here, it is said—probably to obey the orders of a rebel sheriff while he executes his threat to dispossess Union people of their property. This appears to be in accordance with "my policy," which has resulted in such tremendous consequences at New Orleans. Besides this, the loyal people of Florida were taxed last Winter by enactments of Mr. Johnson's legislature, to satisfy claims of the rebellion, and we are already notified that we shall be plundered and our property sold if we do not voluntarily agree to satisfy these audacious demands and thus give aid and comfort to the rebellion which is not yet suppressed.

The idea of getting justice from these courts has been given up by Unionists of all colors—dark-skinned ones get "double justice" or injustice. A colored man was the other day brought before the Mayor's court and fined for some offence, and a day or two after he was arrested for the same offence and taken before a county court, and will doubtless be sentenced to some severe additional punishment. I am informed that the same thing has been done in another instance, at Jacksonville.

Shortly after the visit of the sheriff and his treasonable attempt to nullify a law of Congress, we are visited by a gentleman lately from Vermont, exhibiting other effects of Southern lawlessness—a wound, stabbed in his back, literally within an inch of his life,

WESLEYAN ORIGINAL COPY

done by a boy 12 or 15 years of age, a son of one of the reconstructed, and after being arrested is suffered to go without punishment. This on the Island. Off on the main land, a few miles from us, Union men, white and black, are shot down with apparent impunity. No less than three, within as many weeks, have been killed outright while peaceably about their own business, for no other reason than for professing and acting out Union principles. Two of them were white.

If the Northern people permit Mr. Johnson to restore the rebels permanently to power, the war will have been in vain. No Unionist will be allowed in the South. The "*fanatics*" will be compelled to leave this part of the country, and all others will speedily succumb to the dominant party, and contempt of the "inferior race" will become universal. *Then look for the war of races!*

A. A. G.

Fernandina, Aug. 10, 1866.

LETTER FROM CAROLINE F. PUTNAM.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Aug. 20, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard:

WHOEVER finds—as we have, in this city—kind, generous hearts, given to hospitality and good-will, must remember the significant name with which the gratitude of Roger Williams baptized its ground two hundred and thirty years ago—*Providence*. Does the spirit of that cheerful pilgrim ever perambulate, staff in hand, the streets that follow in pious naming the town—*Benefit, Benevolent, Hope, Friend?* Perhaps some seer among the Spiritualists, at their National Convention, can tell us to-morrow! At least they must rejoice in the religious tolerance he impressed on the earliest history of the State, making Rhode Island such a contrast to her sister Connecticut.

There is a *Roger Williams Church*, that Providence people point out to you as a fine specimen of Doric architecture. Aged people have lately recalled a thrillingly enthusiastic scene they witnessed July 4, 1800, when the father of our late lamented George R. Russell eloquently addressed its crowded walls, commencing: "It is a magnificent spectacle to see a great people annually crowding their temples to consecrate the anniversary of their sovereignty." The audience rose and cheered with irrepressible enthusiasm at the most striking passages.

The east side of the city is hung up in terraces of pleasant residences, lawns and gardens. Providence has more wealth than any city of its population in this country. The college buildings of Brown University are on this side. In the sweet, healthful air of one of these high, quiet streets, we have been privileged to share the Summer, in the home of George J. Adams, one of the earliest Rhode Island Abolitionists in those days when the friends of the slave did not dare to gather by twos in their little meetings, for fear of a mob, and so went single and alone.

A few minutes' drive takes us out among the wayside barberry-bushes, now dusty, but in June so fresh and trim, hung with the graceful necklace-like straw-colored clusters of flowers. Dwellers away inland from the coast, do not know how enjoyable these wild barberry bushes are the year round. All Winter the sunlight gleams through the ruby-red fruit. Cows are feeding in the green pastures along the way; and on we go through shady copses and woods of red cedar, oak and pine, till we get a lively view of a long reach of salt water called the River. Its margin is fringed with beach grass, that rolls up like a stiff wire in drying, and the beach pea blossoms among it. From the bank on the other side of the road we gathered laurel in June, and fragrant clethra in July. This drive takes us past the porter's lodge of the Butler Asylum. Far within the grounds, above the trees, you see the chimneys of this famed retreat for the insane. There, shut in with Nature's green, soft scenery, are living (?) these most afflicted people. We thought sadly of one of the inmates here—an acomplished lady we met a few years ago—whose reminiscences of Boston and Cambridge society thirty years back, charmed us greatly. Her demon is drink. Mrs. Marcus Spring visited last week the Asylum at Northampton and gives us an account of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe's just reciting with wonderful beauty and effect, to the patients there, her grand "Hymn of the Republic," "Mine eyes have seen the coming of the glory of the Lord," and other poems of hers. How appropriate and lovely in Mrs. Howe to do it, and charm away evil spirits!

On our return drive, as we slowly past the extensive glass hot-houses of ex.-Gov. Sprague, we have a glimpse of the tropics, in numbers of full-grown ripe pine-apples, each crowning its great bunch of bristling, sword-like leaves.

Providence gave a beautiful horticultural exhibition the last days of June, from its rare collections of hot-house plants. Brazil, South Africa, the Indies, and other countries were represented, in plants of strange-hued foliage and wonderful blossom. Pots of pretty, delicate exotic mosses, and ferns beside them, revealed the grace with which they adorn distant and foreign lands.

Providence has had another festival, which brought a touch of the hearty German out-of-doors rejoicing into her streets to delight and refresh the passengers. A magnificent arch of odorous evergreens was erected to welcome the "Sängerbund" of Philadelphia and other cities to a great "Sängerfest" (song-festival). Many shops and other public places were gay with festoons and garlands of greens, and the blended colors of Germany and America, and mottoes of "Willkommen." Within the hall three thousand Germans sang Luther's great hymn, "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" (A strong tower is our God). Little Johnny Adams finds it hard to believe that McClellan would not let the Hutchinsons sing to our Union soldiers on the Potomac Whittier's eloquent hymn of this title, because it applied to American slavery.

Several weeks ago, with a group of friends, we looked to see dear Mr. Garrison at the Providence depot. He had not come, but we kissed his daughter Fanny good-bye, on her way with her husband to the steamer from New York for his native Germany. Since then Mr. Garrison passed through the city, to call on the excellent physician, Dr. Joseph Dow, under whose care and treatment Mrs. Garrison was for a long time last year. Mr. Garrison was feeble, and said if he was not soon better he should return and place himself under the skilful practice of Dr. Dow, who administers electricity with signal success.

We are glad to feel again the cordial kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Asa Fairbanks and their agreeable household, so often extended to us before. They have from the beginning kept open house to the Anti-Slavery lecturers, and are alive to the present divine demands of justice for the colored race your STANDARD so loyally exacts. Miss Phebe Jackson took us to "The Shelter," that nice home of little dark girls and boys. We saw thirty-one young orphans there, under the devoted, benevolent instruction of Miss Mann, sister of Hon. Horace Mann. How tenderly these little ones appeal to all that is holy in humanity, and with outflowing love Jesus would declare, "Their angels, too, do always behold the face of my Father in heaven." Little Robert Burnside (son of Gen., now Gov., Burnside's coachman) sang for us, with the rest, "The Master will come over Jordan to-day." His father is the intelligent black man whose knowledge of the Carolina coast enabled Gen. Burnside to plan and win the victory at Newbern. No wonder the General said, "So long as I have a loaf this man shall have half." Miss Jackson and other Providence ladies have largely helped Mrs. Josephine Griffing in her work of clothing the old and sick poor freed people of Washington.

Miss Holley has held good meetings in Pawtucket, Valley Falls and Woonsocket. Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chase, for so long the true-hearted and warm friend of the slave and his cause, keeps a beautiful, fresh, sensitive spirit to every object of vital reform. In her household are two freed women, Violet and Virginia. Last week an aristocratic lady guest fired their just resentment by talking to them of Mrs. Chase as their "mistress." Virginia replied, with true human dignity, "I have no mistress now, but am hired like a white girl." Southern slavery's old phrase was too keenly bitter and hateful for her to bear silently. This lady might have been surprised to hear Virginia dictating a letter to Richmond the same day: "Mrs. Chase is a nice woman, and a kind, good friend to me. She respects all colored people." Violet, from New Orleans, said to Miss Holley: "I don't mind calling Mrs. Chase 'Missus,' out of politeness; but, as for her being real missus, bless the Lord! that is done away with forever!" This rising self-respect is decidedly honorable and promising. The venerated widow, now eighty-four, of Arnold Buffum (Mrs. Chase's mother) is a bright-minded comfort to all the family. She does not forget that her husband was one of the original twelve who first organized our American Anti-Slavery Society, above thirty years ago, in Boston.

Miss Holley tells an amusing anecdote of a well-dressed young man from one of the neighboring towns, coming from the Fourth of July Framingham Grove meeting, asking her "who that Miss Dickens was, the people were so very anxious to hear speak—if she was the Dickens who wrote books?" She told him it was Anna E. Dickinson, and inquired if he had not heard of the eloquent and beautiful girl, Miss Dickinson, who lectured all through the country, when, to her astonishment, he said he had not.

C. F. P.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 27, 1866.

I MENTIONED to you some time ago the public exposure of a course of perjury, extending over a long series of years, committed by the firm of John D. Williams and Company with the economical object of diminishing their Custom House expenses. These people were prominent and influential members of the body facetiously styled the "Public Safety Association," a conspiracy to protect liquor-sellers from suffering pecuniary loss from their habitual violation of the State laws regarding the sale of spirits. Since the exposure aforesaid, but little has been heard of the operations of this body. In reply to anxious inquiries made in regard to it, an advertisement has been published addressed "to the Liquor-Dealers," informing them that the Public Safety Association was discontinued the first day of the present month; that the services of those who had acted as counsel for the Association, in taking care of the cases of its members prosecuted for rum-selling, expired, of course, at that time; and that any persons who wish such services either continued or newly commenced had better walk up at once to the captain's office and make their own bargains.

It seems probable, then, that a considerable portion of the small drunkard-makers (the large ones have not yet been attacked by the State-Constabulary) will be obliged to yield the contest and discontinue their pernicious trade, unless some new hole can be found in the statutes through which to escape from justice. It has been said, you know, that whatever law the wit of man can make, the wit of man can evade. And such evasion of the prohibitory liquor-law is now attempted by at least one person, on the following curious ground.

A dealer in Commercial st., who has been served with several tax-bills, refuses payment, openly defies the collectors, and asks to be arrested. He acts in this under the advice of counsel, and the ground of his refusal is that the liquor-selling which constitutes his business is declared by law to be a nuisance, and ought therefore not to be taxed, but abated; and that if intoxicating liquor is not a nuisance, but property, its purchase and sale should be allowed and protected like that of other property. We must wait to see what the uncertainty of the law will bring out of this question.

I regret to tell you that Mr. Garrison's health has not materially improved. Having made unsuccessful trials with several methods of treatment, he has now begun a course of the famous Turkish baths, which it is hoped may be of advantage to his general health, even should they fail to reach the local trouble in his right shoulder. He is now making a visit at his birth-place, Newburyport, in company with Mr. George Thompson. The many friends of Mr. Garrison's daughter, Mrs. Henry Villard, will be interested to learn that she is in excellent health, and was enjoying, at the last advices, the fine climate of Zurich, in Switzerland, whence she intends to proceed to Munich, with her husband.

The support hitherto given to "my policy" in Massachusetts, and indeed in New England, seems to be neither large in amount nor encouraging in character. No incumbent is yet declared for the Boston Post-Office. Rumor says it has been offered to and refused by several prominent Republicans, but no one of that sort willing to pay the price has yet appeared. Perhaps the President will have to fall back upon Mr. George Lunt, or some such person.

The mention of the name of this individual reminds me to say that his successor in the editorial chair—who still upholds the peculiar ideas of the *Courier* on politics and morals, though self-preservation compelled him to issue them under a different name—has the hardihood now to say that the correspondence recently published between official personages in Washington and New Orleans shows that "no blame attaches to President Johnson" for the treatment of the Convention lately held in the latter city. The new man does not shrink from following in the dirtiest of the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor.

By way of pleasant contrast to these "hard cases," let me mention that Miss Anna E. Dickinson has been lately combining the pleasures of rural and sea-side life at Swampscott, between Salem and Lynn. She is in excellent health, has gained a fine sunny complexion, and seems well prepared in body and spirit for an Autumn campaign in Pennsylvania, which she considers the most important battle-ground for the decision of those questions by which the fate of our Union (for the next few years) is to be decided. May she have as marked success there as formerly in Connecticut!

We have news of the sudden death, this morning, of Rev. John Pierpont, long distinguished as a patriot, a poet, an ingenious inventor, an ardent opposer of intemperance and slavery, and a zealous explorer in the realm of modern thought. Retiring to rest on Sunday evening in Medford (where he was residing when the war of the rebellion broke out), he was found lifeless in the morning, a true specimen of *euthanasia*, untouched by bodily disease or mental decay.

Mr. Pierpont was eighty-one years of age, having been born in Litchfield, Ct., April 6, 1785. He was graduated at Yale College in 1804. His talents and tastes were various, for he was occupied at different times with law, trade, teaching, mechanics, poetry, reform of various sorts, politics, medicine and divinity. Belonging to the class who were praised by Theodore Parker as "hospitable to new ideas," he was prompt to examine theories which offered new views of truth, and facts which seemed to have a bearing on life and human welfare. Thus he became a diligent student of mesmerism and clairvoyance, of phrenology, of homœopathy, of phonography, and finally of Spiritualism, attaining considerable proficiency in most of these, and becoming a zealous advocate for some of them. Among the last, perhaps the very last, of his public speeches, was one made before a convention of Spiritualists, to whom he said, in allusion to his advanced age, that the meeting then in session would probably be his last with them in the body, since, before another of their annual gatherings, he should probably be in a condition to report something to them from the invisible world. No doubt they will look, and ask, for "communications" from him.

For nearly a quarter of a century Mr. Pierpont was pastor of the Hollis Street Church, in this city, immediately succeeding the celebrated Dr. Holley in that office. It chanced that several of the wealthiest and weightiest people in that society were distillers and spirit-dealers. To these persons the zeal and activity of Mr. Pierpont in the Temperance reform, from its very commencement, were highly distasteful, and they led a party strong enough to prevent, for a long series of years, the payment of his salary, after they had vainly tried other means of getting rid of him. A majority of the pew-owners took this position, and held it, though a decided majority of the congregation were in favor of the pastor and his ideas. Since among these earnest friends were some who were able to advance him money, so that want of the means of subsistence should not oblige him to quit the field, Mr. Pierpont remained, and carried on the war with vigor. Reduced to extremity, the rum-sellers of Hollis street made public complaint of their minister as neglecting his pastoral duties, and brought in evidence certain ingenious mechanical inventions devised and patented by him, and publicly sold in connection with his name. The time and thought bestowed upon the invention of these articles, they averred, was so much unjustifiably withdrawn from their service, in violation of his contract as their minister; while the advertisement and sale of these articles, publicly connecting the name of a reverend clergyman with mechanical and commercial transactions, was a grievous derogation from his professional dignity!

The published reply of Mr. Pierpont to the published charge above described, was one of the keenest specimens of sarcastic wit I ever saw. In regard to the charge of fraudulent withdrawal of time from the service of the parish, he said that it came with a very ill grace from those particular persons, who were very slack in their attendance on his preaching, and still more so in reducing to practice the truths he taught. But in fact there had been no neglect on his part, either of public duties or pastoral attendance. He had never failed them in either particular. But he had chosen to employ those hours and weeks of recreation which are admitted by all to be essential to bodily and mental health, in employments that combined use with recreation. He did not understand true dignity, either that of a man or that of a minister, to be infringed by any sort of useful activity. And he had the pleasure to find, by the commercial demand for those articles in use for daily household comfort which his care and skill had improved, that he had enlarged the sum of human happiness, and aided the material as well as the spiritual welfare of his generation. He then wittily described each of the articles in question, enumerated the advantages which his improvement had added to it, and mentioned the place where the improved article was for sale, assuring his critics that a fair trial of these things could not fail to convince them. His wit, and the soundness of his argument, turned the laugh of the whole city upon his assailants, who could revenge themselves only by withholding his salary for a time. The law ultimately compelled them to pay up the whole of it.

Mr. Pierpont finally left Hollis Street Church, and was settled for a time in Troy, N. Y., and afterwards in Medford, Mass. He was in the latter place when the rebellion broke out. He immediately offered his services to Gov. Andrew as chaplain in one of the Massachusetts regiments, and marched with the Twenty-second regiment to the seat of war. The exposures of camp life, however, proved too great for his age and infirmities, and he resigned the chaplaincy and received a post in the Treasury Department, which he held at the time of his death.

NORTH.

LITERARY.

In the course of a review very strongly eulogizing Prof. James Martineau's "Essays, Philosophical and Theological," the *Spectator* says:

"As it would be impossible, in a newspaper article, to touch on more than the merest specimen of the many fine things in these Essays, we propose to select a single philosophical point alone—the charge which Comte and his disciples (and those who, not being his disciples, still agree with him in denouncing metaphysical and extolling physical science) have made against psychology and the allied mental studies—that they are utterly false in method, unprogressive even in form, and sterile of all practical result.

"First, as to the false method. The sort of argument brought by Comte and others to prove that *a priori* psychology must be false, is well known. It is, that psychology is a science of observation, in which the same person is both the observer and the observed. 'The thinking individual,' says Comte, 'cannot divide himself in two—cannot let one reason while the other looks at the reasoning. The organ observed and the organ observing being in this case the same, how is it possible that observation should take place?' We should have thought it almost sufficient, in reply to appeal to the common facts of life. Do we, each of us, keep a private reporter, to tell us what we have done, thought and felt in the day, or not? And if not, are we wholly ignorant of our own actions, thoughts or feelings, till some one accidentally reports to us what they have been, by virtue of his external position? The question is simply ludicrous. Yet, it Comte's criticism on the method of psychology were a true one, we should be as ignorant of our own minds as we are of the circulation of our blood, or the process of digestion. We should not only be obliged to keep a private detective to draw up a daily report on our conduct, if we wished to make any acquaintance, however imperfect, with ourselves; but even then, as he could not tell us more than our actions and apparent expression of countenance—and not even this, for no man would be able to recognize *expression* in another if he had no knowledge of his own mental states—the greater part of our inward life would be lived like a flower's in a solitary place, without any means whatever of recording it, or even momentarily reflecting it. If a man can report to himself his own feelings, motives, wishes, if a little attention will enable him frequently to disentangle the true from the false in his own conceptions of his own actions, then the mind can become an object of scientific observation to itself, and to deny this seems even a greater insult to common sense than to metaphysics.

"This would seem enough, but the reply actually given by Mr. Martineau to this criticism seems to us subtler. He remarks that while philosophy has delighted to assert that mind knows *nothing* but itself, it has never till now asserted that the only thing it is forever incapable of knowing is precisely itself. Comte inquires 'how it is possible that we should know our own state, since we must cease our mental activity in order to observe it?' In other words, if our activity is spent on observing, it is withdrawn from the state to be observed; if it is continued in the state to be observed, it cannot be at our disposal for observation. To this, Mr. Martineau replies that the objection, even if true, assumes the impossibility of memory. Even if the observing self is separated from the observed self by a minute interval of time, why should this interposed minute interval of time be an effectual non-conductor of intelligent perception, any more than a minute interval of space? If our intelligence can bridge the chasm of local separation, what hinders it from uniting the termini of succession? Besides, all perception of outward things, Mr. Martineau observes, reports not only the outward fact, but the relation of the outward fact to the perceiving self, and therefore involves the very act of *self-consciousness* which Comte declares to be in itself impossible. If I perceive a balloon, I perceive that it is I who perceive it; I am conscious not only of the balloon, but of the relation of the balloon to my own eyes. And we might add that if, as seems likely, all which Comte really relies upon in this absurd argument is the inadequate and disturbed character of self-observation, not its real impossibility—then that much observation of the outward world is far more turbid than self-observation. Comte would probably admit the evidence of a man as to a thunderbolt, even though he saw it fall with terror, while expecting it to strike him down; but would reject as scientific evidence the same man's most tranquil account of his own thoughts and feelings."

Harper's Weekly for September 1 furnishes another proof that caricature, even in America, can exist apart from coarseness and be spicy, can be just and yet cutting. A double-page picture, "Reconstruction and How it Works"—the centre-piece being a representation of a wounded black soldier and Andrew Johnson, in the characters of Othello and Iago—with marginal scenes illustrating the Past and Present of the national restoration, is the witness. A series of such efforts has, for a time past, appeared in *Harper's*, and it appears the pencil of the genial Nast is as fertile as ever, and changing, if at all, toward greater pungency and more of drastic effect. There is no illustrated journal on this side of the "big water," as worthy of preservation in bound volumes; for it has taken high ground not only in its editorial treatment of the history of the day, but has, in its pictorial representations, endeavored—and we think with fair success—to show that the attractive can be secured without the sensational, that fact can be made pleasing without being overborne by fancy.

Apropos of caricature—that is an art, or rather a mood of Art general, which rarely thrives in a free atmosphere. The essential prerequisite of its being, it seems, must be a certain envelope of restraint to straight utterance. What incentive is there to inuendo when the door is open to direct criticism? Hence, the places where Art has "descended from her legitimate sphere" to indulge in the capricious sports of satire, are those where the Word is not free. The *Charivari* of Paris has compelled some of the best talent of France into its lists, at times; and the *Kladderadatsch* of Berlin has received a similar support from the muzzled progressive spirits of Prussia. In England, the plane of caricature has been lower in proportion as speech is freer. The choicest pungencies of *Punch* are often confined to petty court, church or private scandals, in the absence of other tabooed topics of discussion; though our war has—to *Punch's* and its public's later shame, however, (*vide* Lincoln!)—made an exception.

How then shall satire in any form grow lustily here—unless it be at *New Orleans?*—Well, in saying there was little *incentive*, we do not mean that there could be no *relish*. The "stolen fruit" does not lose all zest in the presence of a legitimate collation. Such efforts as Nast's, in *Harper*, can meet with rounds of the roundest appreciation, though there be no outside pressure to force the talent that is warring for human good into the by-paths.....But hold—there is a "pressure." Not that of official proscription, but one equally despotic—that of party bigotry. To no one who has not contrasted ours with public life in Continental Europe, can it be clear to what an extent this incubus exercises arbitrary sway with us. And there is our field, then, for satire! Minds will be reached thus which never could be approached by solemn argument. All hail, therefore, to the good work! It is not "beneath" any "sphere" of educational labor. The Nasts and Darleys, no less than the Lowells and Holmeses, are "marching in the army of the Lord" with the soul of John Brown.

With Sept. 1, *Every Saturday* appears enlarged, from 32 pages to 40. "Serial stories will hereafter form a feature," is announced. If the publishers confine themselves to one at a time, we will not enter a protest. But the "serial" mania, when once admitted to authority, is apt to become a serious disturbing element in a magazine of selections, such as *Every Saturday*. The choice of articles made by that periodical so far are commendable for variety and piquancy; still, if solidity had less been slighted for these elements, we should have been better satisfied. "The Sundew" and "Les Noyades," by Charles Algernon Swinburne, are printed from "advance-sheets." Of the first, we may say it will be read through by many, knowing it to be from the hand that indited "Atalanta in Calydon," who would otherwise stop at the third strophe. It strains hard toward the elegantly-naturalistic style of treatment, and has grown cumbrous in the attempt. The (erotic) subject of the other poem (which has more vigor) is one demanding cautious handling; but subject and treatment are in this case alike "taking" to taste of such culture as a study of Paul Duplessis, tempered by Byron, may have engendered in those circles of aristocratic England which now dictates literary *ton* there. To our not thus tutored liking, "The Drownings" appeal less warmly; though, we must say, what of the dramatic element there is in the recital is painted in no mean tints.

Littell's Living Age of August 25 has not less than six articles growing out of the European war, from the *Spectator* and *Saturday Review*, one on Mrs. Keble and her religious poetry, from the *Contemporary*, and a long review of Renan's "Apostles," from the *Fortnightly*. There is an instalment of religious verses, and one of humorous, but little poetry. Miss Rossetti has one poem, less forcedly wrought, more natural in expression, than some of her recently published productions.

ART ITEMS.

The English *Fine Arts Quarterly Review* has been revived.

The Italian journals announce that with the opera to be written for Palermo by Signor Pacini (his one hundredth work), that veteran announces that he will close his musical career.

Jenny Lind is said to be restless under her premature retirement. Occasionally she reappears. She recently sang at the great Hamburg Festival, in the Messiah, Paradise and the Peri, and in Mozart's Il re Pastore. She sustained the whole of the Soprano music. She also appeared recently in London, where she achieved a complete triumph.

Herr von Bulow, the son-in-law of Liszt, has been compelled to leave Munich in consequence of his devotion to Richard Wagner. Both by his purse and his personal influence he had been working to secure the production of Wagner's "Lohengrin" and "Tannhauser," on a scale of great magnificence, but he was so terribly assailed both by the press and profession that he had to give up the fight and abandon the field.

Lambran, one of the French "scanty dry-goods" school of artists, has taken to painting upon white marble, instead of canvas. He is exhibiting in Paris just now a curious picture painted upon that substance, and entitled "The Execution." It represents a singular-looking character, who has just performed the feat of decapitating a parrot with his sword. This portion of the picture is painted in oil, but the part representing the floor is done in mosaic work, by inlaying the marble with small pieces of colored stone arranged in regular perspective. When the pre-Raffaelites take hold of this idea, the marble-cutters will have a good time of it.

SUMMARY.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE ON NEW ORLEANS.

The official correspondence on the New Orleans massacre has been published. It embraces letters and telegrams to and from the civil and military authorities at Washington, which would occupy, in full, about eight columns of the STANDARD. Its publication has had the effect of causing even the Administration press, in part, to retract their charges of "conspiracy" against the "Radicals" and to acknowledge the guilt of their own party; while those who have not the moral courage to acknowledge so much, are either frightened into editorial silence, or are dishonest enough to ignore the entire matter in their news columns.

The *Tribune* says:

"The reluctance of the Johnsonites to let the public see the official dispatches connected with the New Orleans massacre is fully justified by the tenor of those documents. They fix the stain of blood on the hands of their chief so indelibly that all the waters of the Mississippi can never wash it out."

The charge of the *Tribune* that the dispatch of Gen. Sheridan to the President, previously published, and reflecting but lightly on the conduct of the civil authorities, was garbled before its publication in the *Times*, is correct. The following sentence was omitted, and a verbal alteration was made in the next, to conceal the alteration:

"In the meantime, official duty called me to Texas, and the Mayor of the city, during my absence, supressed the Convention by the use of the police force, and in so doing, *attacked* the members of the Convention and a party of two hundred negroes, and with fire-arms, clubs and knives, in a manner so unnecessary and atrocious, as to compel me to say that it was *murder*."

On July 31, a telegram containing the following sentence was received at Washington, from Gen. Baird:

"There is every reason to *fear the imminent peril* to which the lives and property of Union men of the city will be subjected *by restoration of the reins of power to the present civil authorities* of the city."

The answer to this was:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, WASHINGTON, Aug. 1, 1866.

To Major-Gen. ABSALOM BAIRD, *Commanding, New Orleans, La.:*

You will *not interpose any obstacle in the way of the civil authorities*, but render whatever aid may be required by them for the preservation of public peace.

The foregoing telegram is transmitted to you by order of the President. You will acknowledge its receipt.

E. D. TOWNSEND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

So Mayor Monroe was restored, to the "imminent peril" of Union men.

One of Gen. Sheridan's dispatches characterizes the Massacre in appropriate words:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., Aug. 2, 1866.

U. S. GRANT, *General, Washington, D. C:*

The more information I obtain of the affair of the 30th in this city, the more revolting it becomes. It was no riot. *It was an absolute massacre by the police*, which was not excelled in murderous cruelty by that of Fort Pillow. *It was a murder which the Mayor and Police of the city perpetrated without the shadow of a necessity.*

Furthermore, I believe *it was premeditated*, and every indication points to this. I recommend the removal of this bad man. I believe it would be hailed with the sincerest gratification by two-thirds of the population of the city. There has been a feeling of insecurity on the part of the people here on account of this man, which is now so much increased that the safety of life and property does not rest with the civil authority, but the military.

P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major-General Commanding.

After the receipt of this, on the 4th inst., the President directed a series of leading questions to Gen. Sheridan, most of which were so contrived as to bring all the blame in the matter that could be so brought, on the Conventionists, and in which the foregoing information was practically ignored, as if unworthy of note. In answer thereto, the General sent a short history of and comment on the massacre, containing the following passage:

"It is useless to attempt to disguise the hostility that exists on the part of a great many here toward Northern men; and this unfortunate affair has so precipitated matters that there is now a test of what shall be the status of Northern men—*whether they can live here* without being in constant dread or not; whether they can be protected in life and property and have justice in the courts.

If the matter is permitted to pass over without a thorough and determined prosecution of those engaged in it, *we may look for frequent scenes of the same kind*, not only here, but in other places.

No steps have as yet been taken by the civil authorities to arrest citizens who were engaged in this massacre, or policemen who perpetrated such cruelties. The members of the Convention have been indicted by the Grand Jury, and many of them arrested and held to bail. As to whether the civil authorities can mete out ample justice to the guilty parties on both sides I must say it is my opinion unequivocally that *they cannot*.

Judge Abell, whose course I have closely watched for nearly a year, I now consider one of the most dangerous men that we have here, to the peace and quiet of the city."

In the same dispatch, Gen. Sheridan confirms the report that Mayor Monroe selected his police largely from the "Thugs" (a secret order of assassins who upheld the reign of terror of 1861-2 in New Orleans, and who, of course, were admirably qualified, by instinct and training, for their late work of slaughter), as well as from "other known murderers."

The General also fully confirms the reports printed in THE STANDARD, and in the loyal press generally, concerning the thoroughly wanton and inhuman conduct of the murderers—embracing the repeated firing into the defenceless and peaceable assembly of the Conventionists while under a flag of truce; the slaughtering of the "colored and white people" who "escaped" or "passed out" from the Convention building, by policemen lying-in-wait outside, while the police inside the building drove the victims out for that purpose; the hunting down, and killing in cold blood, of non-resistant and fugitive negroes and white Union men; the repeated stabbing, beating, pounding and shooting of helplessly wounded or dead men, "lying on the ground;" and the wounding and killing of prisoners, while in the hands of the police, "by their captors and by citizens."

The assembling of the Convention is pronounced to be the "immediate cause," or pretext, of the terrible affair; while the "remote," or real, cause was the growth of rebel feeling fostered by the rebel authorities who were by President Johnson pardoned into office.

There is more evidence of the same character in this mass of correspondence; but the specimens given above, together with an editorial paragraph on another page, express its sense sufficiently.

The *Tribune* of Aug. 28 has this from its Washington correspondent:

Loyal Union men here express much indignation at the garbling of Gen. Sheridan's dispatches by the President. In justice to the *Times's* correspondent I may state that he is not the guilty party. He sent the dispatch just as the President gave it to him: whether or not he knew of the President's garbling it, I do not say. His peculiar relations at the White House (he having full entree to all its apartments) compels him to say in the Washington column of the *Times* just such things as the President dictates. In fact, the President is looked upon here among the newspaper fraternity, as Chief Washington Correspondent of the *Times*.

GENERAL NEWS.

After October 1, by order of the War Department, no rations are to be issued by the Freedmen's Bureau, except to regularly organized hospitals.—By order of the Secretary of War, no more bounties are to be paid to colored soldiers until further orders.—Gen. Baird, says the *Tribune*, has been relieved at his own request, probably to avoid the complications to result from the investigations at New Orleans. Gen. Sheridan is still at work on the investigation of the massacre.—The *Tribune* states that the presence of Gen. Grant at the interview between the Philadelphia Committee and the President is not indicative of any affiliation, on the General's part, with the Johnson policy. It states that the General's presence was procured by some trickery of the President and Secretary Seward, in order to place him in a false position before the public.

RECONSTRUCTION.

Gen. Custar has been rewarded by a Lieut.-Colonelcy in the regular army.—George B. Lincoln has been turned out of the Brooklyn post-office to make room for Thomas Kinsella, editor of the (Copperhead) *Eagle*, which Montgomery Blair once suppressed for talking treason.—The President has pardoned another counterfeiter, David Donaldson.—The New Orleans *Tribune*—edited and printed by black men—has been compelled to suspend publication on account of the withdrawal of military protection, and the lawless condition of things in the city.—At an immense mass-meeting held in Memphis, August 25, to ratify the proceedings of the Convention at Philadelphia, *Gen. Forrest of Fort Pillow presided and addressed the audience in favor of the prevailing reconstruction policy.*—A petition signed by nearly every Union-man in New Orleans, asking protection from Congress and the loyal citizens of the nation, is now on its way North.

A Radical Union Convention has been held in North Carolina. Resolutions were passed, indorsing the call and principles set forth for a Convention of Southern loyalists, to be held in Philadelphia on the 3d of September, and stating that though it is the dearest wish of their hearts that the Old North State should take her place again in the councils of the nation, yet they were willing to remain as they are indefinitely, rather than allow red-handed traitors to control them.

Advertisements.

REMOVAL NOTICE.

The office of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from No. 5 South Fifth street, to the old stand, No. 107 North Fifth street, where it was formerly located for upwards of twenty years. Specimen numbers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD furnished and new subscriptions received as above.

BENJAMIN C. BACON, Corresponding Secretary.

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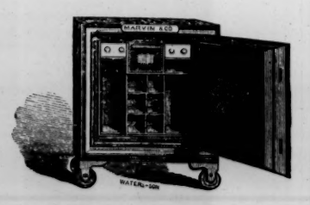

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TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

TOUSSAINT, the most unhappy Man of Men!
Whether the whistling Rustic tend his plough
Within thy hearing, or thy head be now
Pillowed in some deep dungeon's earless den;
O miserable Chieftain! where and when
Wilt thou find patience? Yet die not; do thou
Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow:
Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,
Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind
Powers that will work for thee; air, earth and skies;
There's not a breathing of the common wind
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies;
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

TO THOMAS CLARKSON,

ON THE FINAL PASSING OF THE BILL FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, MARCH, 1837.

CLARKSON! it was an obstinate Hill to climb:
How toilsome—nay, how dire it was, by Thee
Is known,—by none, perhaps, so feelingly;
But Thou, who, starting in thy fervent prime,
Didst first lead forth this pilgrimage sublime,
Hast heard the constant Voice its charge repeat
Which, out of thy young heart's oracular seat,
First roused thee.—O true yoke-fellow of Time,
With unabating effort, see, the palm
Is won, and by all Nations shall be worn!
The bloody Writing is forever torn,
And Thou henceforth shall have a good Man's calm,
A great Man's happiness: thy zeal shall find
Repose at length, firm Friend of human kind!

LONDON, 1802.

MILTON! thou shouldst be living at this hour;
England hath need of thee: she is a fen
Of stagnant waters: altar, sword and pen,
Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
Have forfeited their ancient English dower
Of inward happiness. We are selfish men.
Oh! raise us up, return to us again;
And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.
Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart:
Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea;
Pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free,
So didst thou travel on life's common way,
In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
The lowliest duties on herself did lay.

It is not to be thought of that the Flood
Of British freedom, which to the open sea
Of the world's praise from dark antiquity
Hath flowed "with pomp of waters, unwithstood"—
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,—
That this most famous stream in Bogs and Sands
Should perish; and to evil and to good
Be lost forever. In our Halls is hung
Armory of the invincible Knights of old:
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.—In everything we are sprung
Of Earth's first-blood, have titles manifold.

GREAT men have been among us; hands that penned
And tongues that uttered wisdom, better none:
The later Sidney, Marvel, Harrington,
Young Vane, and others who called Milton friend.
These Moralists could act and comprehend:
They knew how genuine glory was put on:
Taught us how rightfully a nation shone
In splendor: what strength was, that would not bend
But in magnanimous meekness. France, 'tis strange
Hath brought forth no such souls as we had then.
Perpetual emptiness! unceasing change!
No single volume paramount, no code,
No master spirit, no determined road;
But equally a want of Books and Men.

ALAS! what boots the long, laborious quest
Of moral prudence, sought through good and ill;
Or pains abstruse—to elevate the will,
And lead us on to that transcendent rest
Where every passion shall the sway attest
Of Reason, seated on her sovereign hill;
What is it but a vain and curious skill,
If sapient Germany must lie deprest
Beneath the brutal sword? Her haughty schools
Shall blush; and may we not with sorrow say,
A few strong instincts and a few plain rules,
Among the herdsmen of the Alps have wrought
More for mankind at this unhappy day
Than all the pride of intellect and thought?

SAY, what is Honor?—'Tis the finest sense
Of *Justice* which the human mind can frame,
Intent each lurking frailty to disclaim,
And guard the way of life from all offence
Suffered or done. When lawless violence
A Kingdom doth assault, and in the scale
Of perilous war her weightiest Armies fail,
Honor is hopeful elevation—whence
Glory and Triumph. Yet with politic skill
Endangered States may yield to terms unjust,
Stoop their proud heads, but not unto the dust,—
A Foe's most favorite purpose to fulfil:
Happy occasions oft by self-mistrust
Are forfeited; but infamy doth kill.

ON THE FINAL SUBMISSION OF THE TYROLESE.

IT was a *moral* end for which they fought;
Else how, when mighty Thrones were put to shame,
Could they, poor Shepherds, have preserved an aim,
A revolution, or enlivening thought?
Nor hath the moral good been *vainly* sought;
For in their magnanimity and fame
Powers have they left, an impulse and a claim
Which neither can be overturned nor bought.
Sleep, Warriors, sleep! among your hills repose!
We know that ye, beneath the stern control
Of awful prudence, keep the unvanquished soul:
And when, impatient of her guilt and woes,
Europe breaks forth, then, Shepherds! shall ye rise
For perfect triumph o'er your enemies.

THE power of Armies is a visible thing,
Formal, and circumscribed in time and space;
But who the limits of that power shall trace
Which a brave People into light can bring
Or hide, at will,—for Freedom combating
By just revenge inflamed? No foot may chase,
No eye can follow, to a *fatal* place
That power, that spirit, whether on the wing
Like the strong wind, or sleeping like the wind
Within its awful caves.—From year to year
Springs this indigenous produce far and near.
No craft this subtle element can bind,
Rising like water from the soil, to find
In every nook a lip that it may cheer.

INSIDE OF KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.

TAX not the royal Saint with vain expense,
With ill-matched aims the Architect who planned,
Albeit laboring for a scanty band
Of white-robed Scholars only, this immense
And glorious Work of fine Intelligence!
Give all thou canst; high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely-calculated less or more;
So deemed the Man who fashioned for the sense
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingering—and wandering on as loth to die;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were born for immortality.

MILTON'S TIME.

YET Truth is keenly sought for, and the wind
Charged with rich words poured out in thought's defence;
Whether the Church inspire that eloquence,
Or a Platonic Piety confined
To the sole temple of the inward mind;
And One there is, who builds immortal lays,
Darkness before, and danger's voice behind!
Yet not alone, nor helpless to repel
Sad thoughts; for from above the starry sphere
Come secrets, whispered nightly to his ear;
And the pure spirit of celestial light
Shines through his soul—"that he may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight."

SELDOM upon lips of mine,
Father! rests that name of Thine—
Deep within my inmost breast,
In the secret place of mind,
Like an awful presence shrined,
Doth the dread idea rest!
Hushed and holy dwells it there,
Prompter of the silent prayer,
Lifting up my spirit's eye
And its faint, but earnest cry,
From its dark and cold abode,
Unto Thee, my Guide and God.—*Lamartine.*

SOUTHERN AFFAIRS.

BUREAU REPORTS.

TREATMENT OF THE FREEDMEN IN LOUISIANA AND VIRGINIA.

THE following reports give a faint idea of how matters work under "the Bureau," with the contract-system—invented by Banks and approved by Steedman and Fullerton—"controlling the liberty" of the freedman, and with the "lawless perpetrators" of outrages "sustained by the communities" in the face of the Bureau officers:

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, August 1, 1866.

Gen. Baird's report of the affair in Louisiana, dated July 23, has to-day been received by Gen. Howard. He states that the Civil Rights bill has gone into operation. Several cases have been referred to the Hon. R. H. Shannon, Commissioner, and parties have been arrested and held to bail to appear at the United States District Court for a violation of the law of Congress, in refusing to do justice under the civil law of the State. Some of these are cases of freedmen; others in which loyal citizens from the North have been made victims of persecution through the operations of State laws. The proceedings of the Courts have been arrested, and the Judges held to bail.

There are nine persons in confinement for breaking up colored schools—among whom are a Justice of the Peace and a Constable. These latter are further charged with intent to kill the teacher. They will all, however, be released on five thousand dollars bail each, to appear before the United States Court. A continuance of the military force is necessary to maintain as operative this new law. Gens. Steedman and Fullerton have approved the contract-system, claiming it *controls the liberty* of the freedman, and prevents his selling his labor to the highest bidder at any and all times he chooses, but by direction of the President and yourself the freedmen have been allowed to contract, as their interests would thus be best protected. Without contracts the freedmen would be at the mercy of the labor-laws of the last Legislature, and their condition worse than that prior to emancipation. In nearly all cases of cruelty to freedmen reported to the Bureau, the perpetrators have been lawless, irresponsible men, possessing no interests in the locality they inhabit, and they are the terror of property owners and laborers; but it is a noticeable fact that they are *sustained by the communities* by either sympathy or fear.

Small forces of cavalry or mounted infantry are needed in each district. In too many districts the Bureau agents are exposed to insults, and are powerless to resent them, as it is impossible to hold responsible an entire parish. Persons visit the agents on business with loaded pistols in their belts, while in all places of public resort and conveyances, they are obliged to listen to denunciations of the government, disloyal speeches, and songs. Little good can be done for free schools through the State, until a radical change is effected in those who make and enforce the State laws.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, August 5, 1866.

Gen. Terry forwards 45 reports, each from the Superintendent of a District in Virginia, which he considers the best mode of representing all sections. Capt. Cook of Richmond states that many of the decisions in the Mayor's Court are prejudicial to the interest of the freedmen and calculated to debar them from their legal rights as citizens before Civil Courts. Freedmen are seldom able to have a case adjourned to obtain further witnesses on the defence, but whites at no time have these difficulties. Gen. Armstrong, Fortress Monroe, says that there is a very bad state of things at Yorktown. Judges and wealthy citizens deem the re-establishment of the Bureau Courts desirable. The freedmen have no confidence in the Civil Courts. There is a steady pressure of persecution upon the blacks, which only proper representation will ever remove. Maj. Chase, Lexington, reports many cases of destitution among the whites, and cites a widow and five children living in a hut unfit to shelter cattle, upon the place of a colored man. During the Winter she lived in the woods. Maj. Morse, Culpepper Court House, says that the feeling is rather disturbed. Wheat crops will not pay for the seed. Corn promises a very large yield. Capt. White, Amelia Court House, reports almost a state of anarchy. There are instances of stripping and whipping, beating, outrage, robbery, etc., of colored people. There is a disposition to bully the officers of the government, and the civil court in no way meets out justice. Capt. Tidball, Charlottsville, reports a want of confidence of both classes in one another. The county jail is full of colored men awaiting trial. Whipping and striking employes are very common occurrences. Capt. Lacey, Lynchburg, reports there have been more complaints by freedmen of cruelty and whipping during the past month than during all the time he has been in charge.

"The feeling toward the government is bitter and civil war is discussed in public places." Cases are instanced of shooting and maltreating freedmen, but the county judge was disposed to punish the offenders, though but one arrest had been made. Lieut. Arnold, Lunenberg county, says affairs are very unsettled, and the impression prevails that the jurisdiction of the Bureau was about to be withdrawn. Capt. Shawm, Bedford county, reports the county authorities have made no provision for the trial of cases of cruel treatment toward freedmen. Affairs are very much disturbed. Lieut. Gerry, Lynchburg, says that outrages on freedmen are of daily occurrence, and the feeling of the whites is worse than at any time since my assignment here. Lieut. Busby, Heathsville, reports that the feeling between the freedmen and their late owners is not as cordial as it was some months ago. Lieut. Ayres, Warsaw, states that the feeling on the part of the whites is growing daily worse. There seems to be a new determination on the part of the whites to tantalize and urge the blacks on to crime and bad conduct.

The quotations I have given convey a good idea of affairs in Virginia. There is a daily increase of disaffection toward the government and its officers.

GOVERNMENT CHARITY IN ALABAMA AND GEORGIA.

Special Dispatch to the N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Aug. 14, 1866.

Major Stuart Eldridge, A. A. A. Gen. on Gen. O. O. Howard's staff, having just returned from a tour through Northern Alabama and Georgia, reports that, although some destitution exists, it has been greatly exaggerated. The complaints are ascribable, in a great part, to the idleness of the people. "While travelling incognito, as I did, I met very many claiming that it makes no difference how much destitution exists, or whether there is any; their people, having been ruined by the Yankee government, are entitled to support at its hands, and say that they advocate getting all they can in any way." The system of placing Southern politicians, rebels to-day, in control of the ration distribution, although it may promote good feeling and harmony between the various classes of society, is dangerous to the true interest of the ration issue. These men make through it political preferment, arrogating to themselves all the gratitude and credit of the benevolence. The Union men and freedmen are the last to apply for aid. In Georgia 160,000 bushels of corn had been distributed by the Legislature of Georgia to the disabled Confederates only. The estimates for rations being furnished by these citizen agents, the number of negroes counted or provided for is very small.

AMENITIES OF RECONSTRUCTION.

MOBBING OF A METHODIST MINISTER.

From the Cincinnati Gazette.

THE Kentucky Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in electing a missionary to labor among the freedmen of its State, was careful to avoid every probably cause of offence to the whites. A colored preacher was not appointed, and young men, who might be rash, were passed by. The person chosen was the Rev. R. G. Gardiner, who, having been a travelling preacher in Kentucky for thirty years, might reasonably be expected to understand the duties of the position and the character of the inhabitants. Mr. Gardiner went to work zealously, yet carefully. He preached no political sermons, and confined himself to the strict line of his ministerial office.

On Friday of last week he arrived in Georgetown, Scott county, one of the most thoroughly rebel places in the State, and the residence of Judge Duvall, the secession candidate for Clerk of the Court of Appeals. The missionary soon found that his presence was very annoying to the rebels. The minister of the Southern Methodist Church, a man who once took the oath of loyalty and kept it by going off to Dixie, felt especially sore. On Sunday evening, just after Mr. Gardiner had concluded a sacramental service at the colored church, this worthy walked in, attended by two kindred spirits, and told the congregation that his church had loved them very much, but that as they had left that organization for the Northern Church, they could have the use of their house of worship no longer.

The next morning men were sent to force open the door of the building and put a new look on. The church was then fastened up, more than fifty dollars' worth of books belonging to the M. E. Church being locked up in it. The Church South has technically a right to the house, as its colored builders, having been slaves, were obliged to vest the title in white trustees. The latter, without the knowledge of their wards, made it over to the Southern Church.

On Monday night the Southern preacher and his friends visited the church, and were much rejoiced to find that their lock had not been tampered with. Shouts were raised and revolvers fired to express their gratification and to intimidate their victims.

Matters were not to end here. On Tuesday evening, a returned rebel soldier handed a black boy a written order, to deliver to Mr. Gardiner, directing Mr. Gardiner to leave town immediately. Of this he took no notice, as he was lying sick with a bilious attack, for which he had taken a dose of mercury. About ten o'clock, while Mr. G. was lying in bed at the house of a friend, in the outskirts of the town, a knock was heard at the door.

His host opened it; when he was immediately seized, taken out and guarded by part of a body of men with their faces blackened and otherwise disguised. The gang then went indoors, surrounded Mr. Gardiner, and, with pistols cocked and pointed at him, threatened his life. They also ordered him to leave the house, refusing him time to finish dressing. They dragged him some distance, swearing at him, and talking of tar and feathers, lynching, etc.

Finally, they took him down a hill, and forced him over a stone wall into a very muddy creek, plunging him under the water until he was nearly strangled. The lady of the house, who had followed him out, in vain implored them to spare him. They, however, at last let him go, without inflicting any mortal injury. There were about a dozen of the ruffians, several of them being graduates of the rebel army. This is only a specimen of what would be done in the other districts were the disloyal proportions of the community so overwhelmingly large as it is in Scott county.

ASSAULT ON NEGROES.

From the N. Y. News, July 26.

The United States steamtug Geneva returned yesterday morning from the scene of the disturbance on the eastern shore of Virginia, near Drummondtown, between the inhabitants and the negroes. It appears the trouble originated in a number of white men chasing some negroes for the purpose of searching for one named Couch, who a few days previous had attempted to cut the throat of a white man. The negroes were robbed of their arms and money, when they made complaint to the civil authorities, who issued warrants for the arrest of eleven of the white men. The 14th instant was set apart for the hearing of the case at a village named Woodstock.

On that day about a hundred well armed white men assembled, swearing they would kill every negro who attempted to testify, and threatened the magistrate, Mr. Dix, with violence if the proceedings were continued. The magistrate, seeing the state of affairs, indorsed upon the warrants of arrests the impossibility of conducting the trial under such circumstances, and informed Major French, Agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, of his action. The latter officer advised the negroes to quietly return to their homes, and while they were doing so they were again assaulted and pursued by the armed whites until they reached places of safety. Upon the arrival of the troops the white men dispersed in every direction, and not one of them could be found after a most rigid search.

THIRTY FREEDMEN MURDERED.

A private letter to Gen. Howard, dated Vicksburg, Miss., Aug. 3, 1866, states:

Things are getting worse in this county every day. Freedmen murders are nothing now. At least thirty have been killed during the past six weeks in this county. Within the past twenty-four hours one Union Southern and two Northern men have complained to me that they have come to town because they dare not remain longer on their places, near Edwards Depot. We are reconstructing so fast that we are all crazy. I'll furnish the money for President Johnson, if he would come down here to run a farm—but I won't insure his scalp.

PASTIMES OF THE RECONSTRUCTED.

A dispatch to the *Tribune*, from Richmond, July 30, says:

Many instances are cited of civic abuses, of which I note the following: Two white men, after beating two colored men, turned them over to officer Cousens to arrest. They were taken to the cage, and the next morning carried before Joe Mayo, the Mayor. Colored witnesses for the defense were refused, and the colored men were addressed by his Honor as follows:

"I do not intend for you niggers to be equal with white men while I am Mayor. If you do not give me two hundred dollars for your good behavior, I shall send you to jail."

After the commitment he attempted to blackmail them four hundred dollars to prevent their being sent on to the Hustings Court on a charge of riot. The men are yet in jail.

Joseph Beeker and brother were serenading at night, a customary practice with whites. Watchman Epps came along, and, after a soliloquy about clearing out, drew his club, beat Joseph frightfully, arrested the party, and the next morning they were sent to jail for creating a disturbance.

A little colored girl was severely beaten by a white man. The mother applied to ex-Mayor Saunders, now a magistrate, for a warrant. He replied, "I am not in any humor for giving warrants. You must go away from here." Through the action of the Bureau officers she had the man taken up by the police; but he was discharged, and she is unable to obtain any recognition of justice for her child.

PRACTICAL SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

A dispatch from Louisville to the *Tribune*, June 20, says:

Gen. Jeff. C. Davis, Assistant-Commissioner for Kentucky, forwards papers in the case of a boy who was hired by his father to a Mr. Martin, for fifty dollars a year; but instead of retaining him as a hired servant, he bound him, without the knowledge or consent of his parent. The General states that the laws of Kentucky and the rules and practices of the Courts in reference to minors of those lately slaves, greatly embarrass the officers of the Bureau in carrying out the regulations relative to apprenticing. Judge W. J. Steefe of Woodford County Court, gives the following opinion:

"By the statutes of Kentucky, IId vol., page 64, a41, County Courts are to inquire into and put to apprenticeship children whose relatives or parents shall not bring them up in moral courses. *By our law the relation of husband and wife between slaves is not recognized*, and the mother alone is regarded as parent, and in the case under consideration, the mother of the negro boy being dead, his father not being recognized, he has no claim to the child, which is declared a bastard. The Legislature of the State at its last session prescribed certain modes whereby negroes who had lived as husband and wife, should be taken as legally married; but in this instance the mother has been dead several years, and the putative father of the boy cannot comply with this act, and therefore neither father nor son can be entitled to any benefits under this recent law."

KENTUCKY JUDGES DECLARING THE ACTS OF CONGRESS UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

A letter from a very prominent lawyer in Kentucky to a high official in Washington, states:

Our Court of Appeals will at once denounce every act of Congress passed since the rebellion began, as unconstitutional, and the Legislature will, if necessary, by force resent their enforcement. Negroes are being expelled from this State and thrown into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. I know, from a long experience upon the bench, that scarcely a verdict is rendered not prejudiced by rebel sympathies. The Judicial office in the hands of a loyal man is not respected. In the Appellate District a man is running for Judge, and likely to be elected, who is stumping openly against the constitutionality of the late Congress, and vows to use his influence against Union men, whom he terms traitors.

A GEM OF ADMINISTRATION JOURNALISM.—Another name is added to the list of Abolition martyrs. Dostie has gone the way of John Brown, "marching along" toward a country, compared with the climate of which even the heat of these dog days will be considered cool. "Brick" Pomeroy, some time back, drew a very graphic picture of a three-handed game of cards that the souls of three Abolition martyrs, of which Jim Lane was one, were playing around a red-hot iron table in hell, and intimated that one more was wanted to make a four-handed game. They are now gratified, for Dostie will do to take a hand till some more important personage (Benjamin, the beast, for example) arrives to take his allotted place. The soul of little Dostie, the barber, may then be employed in curling the shadowy hair of the soul of John Brown—if John can be made to stop "marching on" long enough to have his hair curled. Some time ago Dostie was trying to get up an excitement by declaring to a set of horror-stricken radicals, and negroes with eyeballs popping out of their heads, that somebody had been dogging his steps with intent to shoot him with an empty horse-pistol, or a bottle of ginger-pop. He was joking about that; but alas! it was no joke this time. The poor barber, who had generously given up the shaving of white men in Chicago to come South and shave negroes, thus ended his career in a manner little in keeping with the inoffensive mode of life of a knight of the striped pole. Dostie is dead! The garrulous barber tongue of his will wag no more. Alas! poor Dostie.

"Take him up tenderly,
Lift him with care."

What to do with him? This is a practical age in which we live, and we must turn everything to account. There are a great many suffering negroes in the South, in spite of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the number of plantations demanding the hoe. Let Dostie's skin be forthwith stripped, and sold to Barnum—the proceeds to go to the Freedmen's Bureau and negro newspapers, to be used by them for the benefit of negroes who have no taste for work. Dostie's body will make good soap. Let him be boiled down, preparatory to being distributed in bars to Yankee "school marms." Delicious will be the kisses sipped by these angular females from ebony checks, late lathered with sweet scented Dostie.—*Mobile Tribune.*

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ELASTIC STITCH FAMILY SEWING MACHINE.

These Machines are superior to all others, for the following reasons:

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2. They are more easily understood and used, and less liable to derangement, than other machines.
3. They are capable of executing perfectly, without change of adjustment, a much greater variety of work than other machines.
4. The stitch made by these machines is much more firm, elastic, and durable, especially upon articles which require to be washed and ironed, than any other stitch.
5. This stitch, owing to the manner in which the under thread is invrought, is much the most plump and beautiful in use, and retains this plumpness and beauty even upon articles frequently washed and ironed until they are worn out.
6. The structure of the seam is such that, though it be cut or broken at intervals of only a few stitches, it will neither open, run, or ravel; but remains firm and durable.
7. Unlike other machines, these fasten both ends of the seam by their own operation.
8. With these machines, while silk is used upon the right or face side of the seam, cotton may be used upon the other side without lessening the strength or durability of the seam. This can be done on no other machine, and is a great saving upon all articles stitched or made up with silk.
9. These machines, in addition to their superior merits as instruments for sewing, by a change of adjustment, easily learned and practiced, execute the most beautiful and permanent embroidery and ornamental work.

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Resulting from any cause whatsoever.

H

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EXPOSURE,
FEVERS,
OR
DISEASES OF CAMP LIFE.

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will find this Bitters a pure Tonic, not dependent on bad liquors for their almost miraculous effects.

O

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AND DISEASES RESULTING FROM DISORDERS OF THE LIVER AND DIGESTIVE ORGANS,

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WILL CURE EVERY CASE OF

CHRONIC OR NERVOUS DEBILITY

AND

DISEASES OF THE KIDNEYS.

F

Observe the following Symptoms, resulting from Disorders of the Digestive Organs:

Constipation, Inward Piles, Fulness of Blood to the Head, Acidity of the Stomach, Nausea, Heartburn, Disgust for Food, Fulness or Weight in the Stomach, Sour Eructations, Sinking or Fluttering at the Pit of the Stomach, Swimming of the Head, Hurried and Difficult Breathing, Fluttering at the Heart, Choking or Suffocating Sensations when in a lying posture, Dimness of Vision, Dots or Webs before the Sight, Fever and Dull Pain in the Head, Deficiency of Perspiration, Yellowness of the Skin and eyes, Pain in the Side, Back, Chest, Limbs, etc., Sudden Flushes of Heat, Burning in the Flesh, Constant Imaginings of Evil, Great Depression of Spirits.

L

REMEMBER,

that this Bitters is not Alcoholic, contains no Rum or Whiskey, and cannot make Drunkards, but is the Best Tonic in the World.

READ WHO SAYS SO.

* * * * * * * *

[From the Rev. W. D. Seigfried, Pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church, Phil.]

GENTLEMEN: I have recently been laboring under the distressing effects of indigestion, accompanied by a prostration of the nervous system. Numerous remedies were recommended by friends, and some of them tested, but without relief. Your Hoofland's German Bitters were recommended by persons who had tried them, and whose favorable mention of these Bitters induced me to try them. I must confess that I had an aversion to Patent Medicines from the "thousand and one" quack "Bitters," whose only aim seems to be to palm off sweetened and drugged liquor upon the community in a sly way, and the tendency of which, I fear, is to make many a confirmed drunkard. Upon learning that yours was really a medicinal preparation, I took it, with happy effect. Its action, not only upon the stomach, but upon the nervous system, was prompt and gratifying. I feel that I have derived great and permanent benefit from the use of a few bottles. Very respectfully yours,

W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254 Shackamaxon st.

A

[From the Rev. E. D. Fendall, Assistant Editor *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.]

I have derived decided benefit from the use of Hoofland's German Bitters, and feel it my privilege to recommend them as a most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering from general debility or from diseases arising from derangement of the liver.

Yours truly, E. D. FENDALL.

[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of the Passyunk Baptist Church, Phil.]

From the many respectable recommendations given to Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I was induced to give them a trial After using several bottles I found them to be a good remedy for debility, and a most excellent tonic for the stomach.

D. MERRIGE.

From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of the Vincentown and Millville (N. J.) Baptist Churches.]

Having used in my family a number of bottles of your Hoofland's German Bitters, I have to say that I regard them as an excellent medicine, specially adapted to remove the diseases they are recommended for. They strengthen and invigorate the system when debilitated, and are useful in disorders of the liver, loss of appetite, etc. I have also recommended them to several of my friends, who have tried them, and found them greatly beneficial in the restoration of health.

Yours truly, WILLIAM SMITH,
966 Hutchinson street, Phil.

N

[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor of the Tenth Baptist Church.]

I have been frequently requested to connect my name with commendations of different kinds of medicines, but regarding the practice as out of my appropriate sphere, I have in all cases declined; but with a clear proof in various instances, and particularly in my own family, of the usefulness of Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I depart for once from my usual course, to express my full conviction that, *for general debility of the system, and especially for Liver Complaint, it is a safe and valuable preparation.* In some cases it may fail; but usually, I doubt not, it will be very beneficial to those who suffer from the above causes.

Yours, very respectfully,
J. H. KENNARD, Eighth, below Coates st.

Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1864.

Rev. J. S. Herman, of the German Reformed Church, Kutztown, Berks county, Pa., was cured of Dyspepsia of twenty years' standing.

A. M. Spangler, Editor of the *Culturist*, No. 23 North Sixth st., Philadelphia, says this Bitters was recommended to him by a medical friend, and six bottles cured him of complete prostration of the nervous system.

Rev. J. Newton Brown, D.D., Editor of the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge and *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.;

Rev. Thos. Winter, D.D., Pastor of Roxborough Baptist Church;

Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Pemberton, N. J., formerly of the North Baptist Church, Phil., at present Pastor of the Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.

These gentlemen express, in the strongest terms, their favorable opinion of these Bitters.

D

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